

# **THE ENGLISH FACTORY**

## **IN SINDH**

Edited by

**Mubarak Ali**

**FICTION HOUSE**

18-Mozang Road, Lahore.  
Phones: 042-7249218-7237430

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To,  
**Ashfaq Saleem Mirza**

## INTRODUCTION

When the English arrived in India, their chief concern, like the other European nations, was to get trade concessions and the royal permission from the Mughul Emperor to establish their factories at the coastal towns and in the important commercial cities of the Empire. To achieve these objects, the Company first sent William Hawkins (who visited India from 1609 to 1611), to pursue the Mughul Emperor to allow the Company to have free trade facilities and factories in India. Hawkins failed to get these concessions as a result of the Portuguese opposition, who were very influential at the Mughul court and who had the support of the strong nobles of the Empire. The failure, however, taught a lesson to the English that their staunch enemies were the Portuguese and without crushing their power neither they would get concessions nor any respect at the Mughul court. In 1612, Captain Best defeated the Portuguese at Swally. The incident produced the desired results. It made the English respectable in the eyes of the Indian ruling classes and in 1613, Jahangir awarded a farman (royal pattern) to the English allowing them to trade at Surat, Ahmadabad, Cambay, and Goya.<sup>1</sup> According to the farman "all English goods should pay custom at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent upon the value or price they were worth when put into the Custom House."<sup>2</sup>

The Company, however, was not satisfied by these minor concessions. Further attempts were made to counter the intrigues of the Portuguese and to establish the trade on firm grounds. To fulfil these objects, the Company this time chose Thomas Roe (who visited India from 1615 to 1618), a shrewd diplomat,

to visit the Mughul court in the capacity of the royal ambassador. His aims were to face and lessen the Portuguese opposition, to explore the possibilities of trade in different parts of the Mughul Empire, to pursue Jahangir to grant the English more concessions, and to allow the Company to set up factories in India.

Thomas Roe manoeuvred to secure a royal farman in 1618 in which the East India Company was allowed to trade freely in India, to reside in rented house on shore, to administer themselves, and to bear arms. In the farman Surat, Bengal, and Sind were mentioned as the suitable places to establish a factory.<sup>3</sup> The Company in 1618 set up the first factory at Surat, which soon became their chief settlement in India.

### **The Organisation of the Factory**

The success of the Company in India was based on the organisation of the factory system. The structure of the Indian trade, the political, social, and economical conditions of the country required the establishment of factories and the recruitment of a large number of factors. The factory actually was warehouse for storing trade goods and merchandise. It was the practice of the foreign merchants to buy at the time of harvest when goods were available on cheap rate and to store them in the factory till the ship came. We have a description of the factory building at Surat which gives us an excellent idea of the factory:

built of stones and excellent Timber with good carvings without Representations, very strong for each Floor is half a yard thick at least, of the best cement, very weighty . . . with upper and lower Galleries, or Terras walks. The President had spacious lodging with noble rooms for counsel and Entertainment.<sup>4</sup>

From the roof of the factory hoisted the English flags.<sup>5</sup> The factory was well organized and had a sufficient staff. The

head of the factory was known as the President. He lived in the factory building in great splendour. The senior merchants were also provided well-furnished buildings.<sup>6</sup> They dined together in the hall, and the president presided over the table.<sup>7</sup> Next to the president, the important post was of the Accomptant. He was the quasi-treasurer and had the responsibility to sign all the documents. Then there was the keeper of warehouse, whose duty was to register all commodities stored in the factory. Under him was the Purser Marine, who kept the account of all goods exported and imported. He paid the seamen their wages and supplied the conveyance to the porters. He looked after ships and ship stores. Another important officer was the secretary, whose responsibility was to write letters, carry them to the president and the council to read and sign them. He kept the Company's seal which was affixed on all the documents. He also recorded all transactions and sent copies to the Company.<sup>8</sup>

The Company's servants were divided into three classes: merchants, factors, and writers. The president was appointed by the Company. He was paid half salary in India and half was kept in England as a guarantee for his conduct. Similarly, all other employees except the writers were paid half salary in India.<sup>9</sup>

The efficient working of the factory and the promoting of English trade in India depended on the factors. There were two types of factors: resident and travelling. The authorities of the East India Company recruited well experienced and honest factors. Their selection was made with utmost care. They were just paid employees and were not allowed to indulge in any private business.<sup>10</sup> The president of the factory had the responsibility to supervise the working of the factors.<sup>11</sup> He had the power to send them back in case of bad conduct or loose

character.<sup>12</sup> The factors were also required to execute a bond before leaving for India.<sup>13</sup>

A factor was expected to have vast commercial experience, knowledge of the local languages, and expert in book-keeping. There were many examples when the junior factors through their intelligence and hard work rose to the position of prominence. One example was of William Methwold, who became the president of the Surat factory.<sup>14</sup> He played leading role in concluding peace with the Portuguese which consequently gave English a chance to come to Sind.

The factors were regularly guided by the Company. The letters which were sent to them by the Company still exist and reveal the detailed instructions given to them regarding the goods and commodities to be bought, about the prices, quantity and the quality, about the shipping, how and when to be despatched to England, and the working and the organisation of the factory.<sup>15</sup>

It was the duty of the factors to go to the different parts of the country, explore the possibilities of trade, learn and speak the local languages, and work hard to promote the trade activities. They personally made contact with the cultivators, craftsmen, and the weavers and purchased from them the required commodities.

To help the factors in purchasing goods, the factory recruited from the Bania class the local brokers and paid them 2% on all bargains.<sup>16</sup> The factors worked in collaboration with these local brokers. Usually the purchasing was made at the time of harvest and the payment was made in cash. The practice was that the factory gave silver to the royal mint to coin it into the local currency. From this amount the payment of the commodities was made to the concerned parties. In 1634, William

Methwold complained to the Mughul governor of Surat that the royal mint delayed in coining their silver into local currency which resulted in a loss. The governor, after the inquiry, admitted the mistake and lent the Company Rs. 75,000.<sup>17</sup>

For the East India Company the factory system proved most advantageous and soon after the establishment of the Surat factory, the English set up their factories throughout Gujarat, at Ahmedabad, Baroda, and Broach. The Surat factory became the headquarter of their trade activities. From there the Company sent the factors to Agra to explore Northern India. In 1630, after a severe famine in Gujarat, the Company searched other markets in India and consequently a factory was established in Lukhnow.<sup>18</sup> However, in the early phase of the Company in India, the Presidency of the Surat factory remained above all other factories.

In the early 17th century, the purpose of the European nations was to supply Indian goods to the markets of Europe. There was no such plan as to create markets for the European goods in India. Upto 1620, East India Company chiefly exported indigo, but between 1620 to 1630, calico was added. Later on saltpetre, textile, raw silk, sugar, pepper, and spices were included in export commodities. The factors of the Company purchased these goods from the different parts of India and sent them to the Surat factory where they were stored and shipped to England. Thus, the Surat factory became the chief depot of the exported goods.

In the early phase of their arrival, the European nations brought a tremendous boom in trade, commerce, and cottage industry of India. They only exported Indian goods and paid in cash, mainly in silver coins. Therefore, they were welcomed by the Mughul government and the ruling classes of India. The Mughul government had no navy to protect their merchants,

while these European nations were all powerful in the sea. The Indians by nature were not seafaring people and preferred to stay in their country. When the European nations offered them the facility to take their goods to other countries they readily accepted the alternative, of course without considering the consequences. Moreover, in the 17th century, the production had increased beyond the consumption of the Indian ruling classes, therefore, for export, the Indian merchants and the ruling classes had to depend on the European nations.<sup>19</sup> Under these circumstances, different European nations were welcomed in order to have more competition. The Mughul Royal family patronized the different European nations from time to time according to their interest. The Royal family heavily invested in trade. Asaf Khan and Nurjahan preferred the English over the Portuguese.<sup>20</sup> Prince Khurram became anti-English as they had finished his monopoly of the Red Sea trade.<sup>21</sup> The English, however, found in Asaf Khan their patron and through him they acquired a number of concessions.

### **The First English Factory in Sind**

The English from the very beginning, were interested to have commercial relations with Sind. In the 17th century, Sind was the province of the Mughul Empire and was administered by the Mughul officers. The chief city of Sind was Thatta, which was famous for its commercial importance. The chief port of Sind was Lahribandar, from where the goods were sent to the Persian Gulf and to the coastal town of Gujarat and Goa. This made the English interested to control it.<sup>22</sup>

The goods which were exported from Sind were cotton, taffetas of yarn and silk, ornamental desks, writing cases, indigo, and saltpetre. The Sindhi merchants, in absence of their own ships, were forced to send their goods by the then only available Portuguese ships.

The Portuguese were the first among the European nations who came to Sind. In 1556, they were invited by Mirza Isa (d. 1567) to help him against his rival. The Portuguese governor, who was looking for such opportunity, readily agreed to send help. 700 Portuguese soldiers were sent in 28 ships under the command of Pedro Barreto Rolim, who reached Thatta safely only to find that civil war, in which his help was needed, was over, and the peace was concluded between the warring parties. He asked for his expenses, and on non-payment, sacked the city of Thatta in revenge. Thousands of people were killed and millions of rupees property was captured and loaded on the Portuguese ships. He also destroyed everything on both sides of the Indus.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the people of Sind had bitter memories of the Portuguese arrival. As a whole the Portuguese were not popular in India because of their policies. They controlled all the sea routes and stopped other nations to trade with India. They were fanatically religious and followed the policy of forcible conversion. Their acts of piracies and cruelties disgusted the people of India. In spite of all this, they were tolerated by the Indian ruling classes, as they did not have any other alternative except them to export Indian goods. After the arrival of the English and the Dutch, the situation changed, and their monopoly in the sea was challenged. But in Sind they remained powerful and were the only one who exported Sindhi goods through Lahribandar to the Persian Gulf, Gujarat and Goa.<sup>24</sup>

In 1613, the English made an attempt to get permission from the Mughul Emperor to trade with Sind, but their attempts failed due to opposition of the Portuguese, who threatened to destroy the port of Lahribandar, if the English were allowed to come to Sind. The governor of Thatta, who received large amount from the Portuguese in shape of custom duties, favoured

them and refused the English merchants to come to Sind.<sup>25</sup>

Thomas Roe, who came to India to acquire the royal farman for the East India Company to establish a factory in India, fully studied the geographical situation and the commercial importance of Sind. He repeatedly wrote to the Company to discover the possibilities of trade with Sind, "The discovery of Syndu, which the Company much desire and is very requisite."<sup>26</sup> In 1615, he writes about the importance of the Indus and Sind;

the River of Syndu were more conodius of all others, to which from Lahore any thing may passe by water; besides the country is more healthy and plentifull in indico and comodyties fitt for England.<sup>27</sup>

In 1617, he again writes:

The river is indifferently navigable downe; but the mouth is the residence of the Portugall; returns backe against the streafe very difficult. Finally, wee must warrant their goods, which a fleet will not doe; neither did the Portugall ever lade or noise (sic) such goods, but only for these of Sindie and Tatta, that traded by ther own junkes, they gave a Cartas or passe to secure them from their frigates and traded with them; for which they payed a small matter.<sup>28</sup>

Roe favoured to establish commercial relations with Sind and writes to the Company:

Wee must plant Syndu and unite our force; they wilbe els too farr distant to assist one another; and it is fittest place of all these dominions, considered in yt selfe for our residence. The number of Portugalls residing is a good argument for us to seeke it; it is a sign ther is good dooing.<sup>29</sup>

In 1620, Thomas Kerridge informed the Company about the strong influence of the Portuguese in Sind. The ships of Sind required the guarantee of safe passage from the Portuguese.<sup>30</sup> The English, however, continued to explore Sind. In 1622, Robert Young wrote to the Surat factory that Thatta was a good place for trade.<sup>31</sup>

The East India Company had the farman from the Mughul Emperor, Jahangir, to trade throughout the Empire including Sind,<sup>32</sup> their early attempts were not successful because of the Portuguese opposition. In 1629, they again attempted to set up a factory in Sind. An Indian agent was sent to survey the markets and find out the goods and different products of Sind required by the Company.<sup>33</sup> The Surat authorities allowed the English merchants to trade with Sind.<sup>34</sup> The higher authorities of the East India Company also directed the President and the Council of the Surat factory to see the advantages of establishing a factory in Sind. Encouraged by the authorities, in 1630, a broker of the Company visited Sind and purchased some indigo and white cloths as a specimen. The English were further encouraged by Asaf Khan, who was specially interested to see the establishment of the English factory in Sind.<sup>35</sup>

In 1630 occurred a severe famine in Gujarat which greatly affected the English trade. To find out the same products from other parts of India, the English merchants turned their attention towards Sind, specially for indigo and cotton and tried to make these products popular in the London markets.<sup>36</sup>

In 1630, the Dutch also tried to come to Sind for the trade, but they were also opposed by the Portuguese.<sup>37</sup> Moreland rightly points out that Sind was important for the English:

Sind was, in fact, more important for the English than for the Dutch, because its trade with the Gulf provided

a method of laying down goods in Persia, and so helping to finance the export of silk. The Dutch could, as we have seen, obtain purchasing power in Persia by the sale of spices, but the English, having no access to the principal spice markets, were forced to develop other lines of trade, and among these sale of Sind calico took a prominent place, whether it was marketed in Persia itself or sold for cash at Basra.<sup>38</sup>

Another factor which compelled the English to buy Sind's products was the order of Shahjahan, who in 1633 conferred the right of the sale of indigo to a Hindu merchant Manohar Das. The Dutch and the English both protested against the order and unanimously decided not to buy it for one year. The boycott changed the mind of Shahjahan, who dissolved the patronage in April 1635.<sup>39</sup> This, however, forced the English to find alternate markets. In the same year an agreement was reached through the efforts of William Methwold with the Portuguese and peace was concluded with them. This enabled the English to establish a factory in Sind without any opposition of the Portuguese whose monopoly in Sind ultimately ended.<sup>40</sup>

Immediately letters were written to the local brokers of Thatta to buy calicoes. Asaf Khan issued an order to the English allowing them the same privileges in Sind as they were enjoying in other provinces.<sup>41</sup> In the same year the "Discovery" and the "Bassein" were sailed to Sind.<sup>42</sup> The Discovery reached Thatta on 3rd December 1635. It was warmly welcomed by the Thatta authorities. The first English factory was established at Thatta to conduct the trade with Sind.<sup>43</sup> Fremlin, Spiller, and Moyle were appointed to supervise the factory.<sup>44</sup>

The English factory in Sind, as Sorley points out, had three objects: (1) to keep up the supply of cotton cloths for the London

Markets; (2) to obtain indigo; and (3) to carry trade to the Persian Gulf and the Western coasts of India.<sup>45</sup>

In the 17th century, as we have pointed out earlier, the European trade was based on the export of the Indian goods. There was no market for the European products in India. The East India Company exported from Sind cotton goods, saltpetre, indigo, leather and leather goods, and fish. The East India Company's records reveal the names of those places where these products were acquired and bought from. The cotton manufacturing places were Bhakkar, Rohri, Darbelo, Gambat, Kandiaro, Sehwan, Sann, Dadu, Nasarpur, and Thatta. Indigo was bought from Sehwan, Bubak, and Sann. Saltpetre came from Nasarpur and Thatta.

With the establishment of the English factory, the Sindhi merchants started to send their goods by the English ships, because they were well armed to protect against the other European nations. This gave an impetus to the local trade and the Sindhi merchants came forward in foreign trade, which ultimately brought to them great financial benefit.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the arrival of the English promoted trade, commerce, and the manufacturing industry of Sind.

The Company employed the local brokers and agents who visited different places of industry and contacted the manufacturing classes like weavers and asked them to make cloth according to their requirements. Similarly, indigo and saltpetre was bought from different cities and towns. The factors laboriously worked for the Company and kept the supply uninterrupted.

The first English factory worked in Sind for 27 years and was closed in 1662. What were the reasons that the Company, in spite of the efficient and well-organized factory system, could not work satisfactorily and was compelled to close the factory because of less profit? It is no doubt that the local merchants

and the ruling classes flourished in the presence of the English factory, but there is no evidence that the common people would have improved their condition as a result of the foreign trade. No change occurred in the traditional economic structure of the feudal society. No improvement or invention took place in the art of manufacturing or industry. India in general, and Sind in particular lost the chance to change the methods of their industries and capture the European markets.

The basic weakness was in the social and political system of the country. In the 17th century, the Indian industry was basically for the nobility and supplied only for the consumption of the royal family and the higher classes of the society as the common man had no purchasing power. The European nations brought a great change in the economic structure of India by exporting Indian products to the European markets, but no attempt was made by the Mughul government to encourage the Indian industry and agriculture to increase their products in order to meet the demands of the foreign merchants. The Mughul administrative system further contributed to the failure. The Mughul officers were greedy and rapacious. No work was done without bribery. The royal family invested their money in trade and this discouraged other merchants to compete with it. The royal monopoly of some commodity further damaged the trade. The administration of the custom houses was corrupt and dilatory which only created problems for the foreign merchants.

The political, social, and economic conditions of Sind presented a grim and deplorable picture in the 17th century. The feudal structure of the society was the greatest obstacle for the development of agriculture. The cultivators paid such heavy taxes that sometimes they refused to grow crops. Similarly, the small craftsman in the village, who toiled day and night,

was reduced into poverty as a result of heavy taxes. The local administration created problems for the Company in buying goods and transporting them to the destination. To counter these problems, the Company always tried to get the royal farmanis or the orders from the princes and the local governors regarding concessions in local taxes and custom duties. Moreland rightly observes:

The country was poor, and suffered severely from oppressive administration: the difficulties of navigation increased as time went on; and the most that can be said is that Sind formed a useful subsidiary to the main establishment at Surat.<sup>47</sup>

In 1662, after 27 years, the factory was closed and for 96 years no attempt was made to establish the factory in Sind. In 1758 during the Kalhora period, the second factory was set up. It was also withdrawn in 1775.

### **The English Factory Records**

An elaborate postal system was organized by the East India Company to keep the factors informed of the Company's commercial needs and decisions. Among the East India Company's records of India Office Library are preserved letters from the servants of the Company, which provide us valuable information about the political, social, and economic condition of India. It was the duty of the president and the factors to write regularly to the Company by every homeward bound ship. The letters were also sent through the Dutch ships. Besides this, the overland route was also used. The factors used to send duplicate of letters already sent home by the ships either through Red Sea or via the Persian Gulf and Aleppo.<sup>48</sup> The preservation of this correspondence has provided us rich material on the history of India. William Foster collected the

English factory records from 1618 to 1669 and published the same in 13 volumes from Oxford (1909-27).

The present volume is based on William Foster's "The English Factories in India." The author, who did not disclose his name wrote only compiler, laboriously took the extracts regarding Sind from the thirteen volumes, and arranged them chronologically according to William Foster's system. The present volume is highly valuable for the scholars and the students of the history of Sind. It should be relevant to mention here that in reproducing the extracts, original spellings of the text have been retained.

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3. Mukerjee, p. 96.
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14. Ibid., p. 82.
15. Ibid., p. 86.
16. Wheeler, p. 31.
17. Chaudhury, p. 122.
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19. Mukerjee, p. 216.
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27. Ibid., pp. 75, 76.
28. Ibid., p. 406.
29. Ibid., p. 193n.2.
30. William Foster: *The English Factories in India—1618-69*, Vol. 1-13, Oxford 1909-1927 (The volumes are not numbered), 1620, p. 181.
31. Ibid., 1622, p. 75.
32. Ibid., 1622, p. 309.
33. Ibid., 1629, p. 326.
34. Ibid., 1624, p. 27.
35. Ibid., 1624, p. 27.
36. Moreland, p. 42.
37. Ibid., p. 42.
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42. Ibid., pp. xii-xiv.
43. Moreland, p. 42.
44. *English Factories in India*, 1635-36, p. xvii.
45. Sorley, p. 36.
46. Ibid., p. 40.
47. Moreland, p. 42.
48. Chaudhury, p. 85.

**PREFACE**

Students of Sind History are ever conscious of the handicaps from which they suffer in procuring sufficient material on any topic of their provincial history. This paucity becomes the more glaring when it is found that almost all the local chronicles describe events which took place generations, if not centuries, before their authors time. Sind history lacks particularly in contemporaneous record. As such it becomes essential to collect references to Sind in any chronicles, particularly when they afford contemporaneous accounts. Sir William Foster's English Factories in India — in 13 Vols—1618 - 1669, supplies much useful information regarding Sind during the 17th century, particularly during 1635 - 1662, when there existed an English Factory in the province. This information gleaned as it is from contemporary English Record enjoys particular importance, not merely on account of the fascinating scenes it offers, but more so due to the very meagre historical material ordinarily available on 17th century Sind. The accompanying text is a transcription of extracts relating to Sind from Sir William Foster's monumental work referred to above.

Extracts from each separate volume begin on a fresh page bearing the years with which the volume deals; and each bears a figure opposite to it in the margin, indicating the page of the volume in which it occurs.

The volumes deal with the years as under:-

1618 - 1621	1637 - 1641	1655 - 1660
1622 - 1623	1642 - 1645	1661 - 1664
1624 - 1629	1646 - 1650	1665 - 1667
1630 - 1633	1651 - 1654	1668 - 1669
1634 - 1636		

## 1618 - 1621

- 12 Sir Thomas Roe to the Company dated February 1618:-  
 The trade between Syndu and Ormus is passed by the Portugalls frigatts and so to Persia, or by their cartass; but it is not so great as pretended, nor the profit to the Portugalls a tenth parte. The ould trade is given over for the great avenues—exactions—layd by the Portugalls.
- 14 Sir Thomas Roe at Ahmedabad to the Company, 14th Feb. 1618:-  
 Syndu you may freely goe too, lade and relade but it is inhabited by the Portugall; lies noe way well for your stock (except you scatter it); it vents only teeth—Ivory, elephant's teeth—and affords good cloth and many toyes.
- 181 Thomas Kerridge to William Biddulf (at Court), 22nd January 1620:-  
 On their way the fleet—the English patrolling fleet in the Arabian waters—surprised a small boat of 'Sindu' bound for Myskat, 'who havinge sundry letters and passes of the Portugalls caused distrust in ours they weare Portingalls goods bound to releeve the there expected gallions'. The Persia Factors let the boat go, but confiscated the goods. Nothing heard yet of the matter, but it is to be feared that there will be 'future exclamacion'.
- o<sup>c</sup> Thomas Kerridge at Surat to John Browne & c. at Ahmedabad, January 1620:-  
 The ships recently sent to Persia seized a frigate of 'Synda', for which it is feared double restitution will have to be made.
- William Biddulf and John Young at Agra to the President and council at Surat, September 1621:-  
 'In a former wee gave you advertisement of diverse Sinde merchaunts that weare come hither to complayne to the King that we had perforce taken their goods at Sea and since they are growne in prosecuting that businesse, in soe much that Asulphchan

sent for us and wished to give them content, or else they would complayne to the King, which would be much to our nations dishonner, and for our sakes he hindred them from their purposes. Wee have absolutely denied to have any such passage, but that wee knew yf they had taken any goods it was the Portingalls, and these people onely subornd by them to complayne against us; but if they could prove that our people had taken any of this King's subjects, after answer from Suratt wee should give them an answer, and wee doubted not but to content, either in moneys or reasons sufficient to the contrary. Whereupon they shewed the Nabob an inventory of all their goods that weare shipped in that shipp or boate, being taken out of the Customers books there and witnesed by the Customer and all his cheef officers. To which wee gave such answers as weare necessary, and that wee could doe nothing therein untill received reply'.

- 335 William Biddulph &c. at Agra to the President and Council at Surat dated November 23, 1621:-

'Howsoever, wee doe conceave in few monthes there wilbee necessitie for ones beinge att the court, or rather indeede forced to bee there, to give answare to the Sindea merchants &c., as you will perceave in a followinge point in this due place'.

- 335 Same letter continued:-

'What you have advised concerning the Sindee merchaunts wee apprehended and put it in execution before your advises came, with absolute deniall to have any knowledge of such busines; which with the Nabob Asuf Cauns favour have soe long delayed them of and still continue the same; which wee are well assured wee cannot long put them off soe; all men exclaiminge against us that wee give them not satisfaction. And sence the kings departure they have caused us to bee sent for (by?) the cheifs of this place with noe smale troble and much shame to answare such a busines, but per vertue of the Nabobs perwanna which hee gave us after his departure this cittie in our

behalves, they would not meddle with (us, but) ordered them to seek justice of the Nabob, who few dayes (since) departed to the Laskar after the kinge. So that wee expect that shortly that some of us wilbe sent for to give answare, if the Nabob continue not our frind. Howsover, wee are of opinion that before it bee longe wee shalbee forced to make them satisfaction, and therefore it is necessary you advise forthwith your absolute resolution herein, for you value the prize at 1000 and odd rupees and there demaunds are 10000 rupees, soe that wee feare to make shew of any composition. And none wee dare to trust to doe it underhand, for feare of more troble; for if it bee once knowne wee goe about to compound with them, they will force us to the uttmost pennye. Therefore wee conceave noe corse soe fittinge (after your approbation) for our creditts and easiest conclusion as to refer it to the Nabab to end the same, and still to affirme wee knowe nothinge thereof, but what hee shall please to commaund wee are willinge to performe, in reason, if the (y) will not per other meanes bee shifted of'. A speedy reply on this point is solicited. They have sent a copy of the merchants demands, which they consider exaggerated. They have procured the imprisonment of the chief of the 'mocadams' hired at Mandu, and hope to recover some of the money paid for carriage of the captured goods.

- 346 Robert Hughes and John Parker at Agra to the President and Council at Surat dated December, 18, 1621:-

Yet wee expect shortly to here of our Sindymen, who are ther in exclamation against us for their there right, and wee have our answare readie you last inordered, which is all they are like to have (unlesse perforce) untill your further advise. Your consideration ought to bee taken herein for the setting a period to soe brangling a busines; but herein wee refer you to Mr. Biddulphe whoe can best informe you of there demaunds to us and our nations disgrace.

1622 - 1623

XVI The troubles at Ahmedabad were however light in comparison with those at Agra. The latter originated in the capture of a frigate from Lari Bunder (in Sind) by Bickley's squadron on its way to Persia in November 1619. Under the pretext that as there was a Portuguese pass on board, the goods probably belonged to the merchants of that nation, the cargo was confiscated, though the vessel itself was released; but this hypothesis proved groundless, and the natives who had been thus despoiled, arming themselves with extracts from the custom house records, made their way to Agra to seek justice at the hands of the emperor. We find them there in the autumn of 1621, and Asaf Khan advising the English factors to satisfy a claim which was evidently just. But 10000 rupees—the amount demanded—was a large sum to part with except under the pressure of necessity; and acting under instructions from Surat, the factors raised difficulties and protracted matters until Je'hangir departed on another progress.

XVII The complainants after vainly endeavouring to obtain justice from the Agra authorities (who were afraid to interfere in the dispute), followed the Royal Camp and once more addressed their petitions to Asaf Khan. Worked upon by their complaints, and also it wou'd seem, by representations from Cambay and Ahmedabad, he completely lost patience with his English proteges. By his instructions, on the morning of January, 5th 1622, Hughes and Parker, the only two Englishmen left at Agra, were made prisoners, and possession taken of their goods, money and papers. After a few days confinement they were released on giving securities; but inspite of all efforts their property remained under sequestration. Appeals to Asaf Khan proved useless, for his attention was engrossed by the illness and death of his father, the Itamad-ud-daula; while the tardy acquiescence of the President and Council at Surat in the

desireability of compounding with the Sind merchants was now of little service. In March the two factors wrote that they had at length received an answer from Asaf Khan, but it was merely an angry refusal to restore their goods until full restitution had been made in Gujerat. By his orders the Sind merchants were awarded ruppees 10200 from the effects of the English and after a time Hughes and Parker were again arrested and imprisoned in the fort.

Robert Young and John Willoughby who had been sent away to Samana from Agra in December 1621 having heard of the arrest of their colleagues sought their release and at long last after much persuation at the hands of Willoughby. Asaf Khan ordered the release and restoration of the factors goods with exception of money paid or reserved for compensation to the Sind merchants. This order took effect on May. 26. and the English Factory at Agra was immediately dissolved.

- 11 Robert Hughes and John Parker at Agra to the Surat Factory, January 5, 1622:-

This morninge contrarye to expectacion came into our house the Governor and the Califas officers of this place, who brought a mandate or perwanna from the Nabob Assaf Conn. writen in two coppyes, to the Goverour of this place and his owne vekile, the coppyes where off were send you here inclosed and importes as followeth. viz. to make seazure of whatsoever goods. redie monnyes. moveables. writings & c.. and to take them into there possession: which mandate of Assuff Cons. the Governor and officers of this place have most officiouslye executed, and farther have made seasure off our persons. which is as farr as the Nabobs perwanna importes, and is the ultimo of there and our own expectacions. The reasons which moved the kinge, or rather Asuf Con—hereto are (soe farr as wee cann perceave) the Sindiemens exclamacions against us for there losses sustained by us.....

- 13 Robert Hughes and John Parkar at Agra to the Surat Factory, January 5, 1622:-

'It behoves you to thinke on some course for the satisfyeinge these clamyrouse Syndamen, for nowe they have wherwithall in their own possesions to sattisfye themselves.

- 21 Robert Hughes and John Parkar at Agra to the Surat Factory, January 5, 1622:-

Have written to direct Willoughby to accompany Tau to the court, with orders first to treat 'your present troubles and the accatione which hath induced them; and haveinge gott our reslement by letter from the Nabob (Asaf Khan) to his Governor heere (where of wee doubt not, yf it consisted not of more then the Syndemens busynesse) then to make knowne unto him your letter and intentions in the plesuringe him with the sayd jewell, upon his writinge given for the securinge it from Brampore to courte, otherwise, as before, in any case to conseale that busynis; and not to yeeld to any agreement, eyther with the Synde merchants or else, without your further order'.

- 44 Robert Hughes and John Parkar at Agra to the Surat Factory, January 5, 1622:-

'Wee conceave not howe wee shall a longe tyme be quitt of these troubles, unlesse expresse remittance comes from Leskar (Kings Camp), whether the princes letter (if procured) must goe, answe're retorne heather, which will require tyme, all loste to us, and then hopely yet a restrainte untill satisfaxione made there Syndamen, who beinge at Leskar and wee in Agra, wee shall fynde it deficulce to come to agreement or cleare their demands, which what they are or howe untrewe wee are not justly posest, but whence (once) of ayne in questione, haveinge nowe your full approbation for an absolute conculctione to be made thereof by giveinge them satisfaxion, we shall endevour it the best we maye for our owne advantage'.

- 57 Robert Hughes and John Parkar at Agra to the Surat Factory, 8, March 1622:-

The barer our servante that bougght us this answere from courte reportes the Nabob to have given order for the restoreinge the Syndamens 8000 and odd ruppees out of this our cash in their possessione, whose performance therof wee shortly expect, though cannot withstand.

- 64 Thomas Rastell and others at Surat to the President and Council at Batavia, March 17, 1622:-

The Weazopp spend some time on the coast of Arabia, where 'she hath proved hirselfe as notorious a theefe as his fellow, by the roberrie of two other juncks of Chaule and Diew, the latter yeeldinge only certaine Sindie toyes, horses & c.'

- 75 Robert Young at Agra writing to the Surat Factory under date April 1622 recommends Tatta in Sind as a good place for trade.

- 77 Edward Monnox and others at Ormus to the Surat Factory, April 27, 1622:-

"You shall doe well in our opinions to salicite the merchants of Indya and Sinde to continewe theire former trade, with promise of kinder usage from us then ever they had from the Portugall." (The English had just taken Ormus from the Portuguese).

- 78 Robert Hughes at Agra to Surat Factory, April 27, 1622:-

"Has already advised that by the order of Asaf Khan Rs. 10200 have been taken from them to satisfy 'the Syndemen' and they them-selves carried prisoners to the castle".

- 89 Robert Hughes at Agra to the Surat Factory, June 5, 1622:-

Young departed for Surat on May 14. Forwards a letter from Willoughby announcing his arrival at the Royal Camp on April 23, relating his negotiations with Asaf Khan and 'in conclusion, howe hee hath procured both us and the companies goods releace, by vertue of three severall perwannas given him

- 90 by the Nabob, to the Gouverour and his callifa heere in Agra; upon deleverye wherof wee weare incontently freed, and all our goods and moneyes, save the 10200 ruppees allotted the Syndemen, the which Assuff Chon, as you may perceave by the copie of his perwanna to the callifa, doth avere to be justice.' This money has long since been paid to the claimants, except Rs. 2200 retained until the receipt of further proof from "Synda".
- 9 Nicholas Bangham and another at Burhanpur to the Surat Factory, July 7, 1622:-  
 "The Kinge of Persia, as reportt sayeth, hath made an inrode into the Mogolls Terytory on this side of Candhar, and hath sentt another army to take Tatta in Sindee; which yf so, itt will begin a greate dell of disturbance in this country of all sorts of people, this kinge havinge called from hence all his cheefe souldiers to supploye those places."
- 112 Nicholas Bangham and another at Burhanpur to the Surat Factory, August 17, 1622:-  
 'Heere is newes thatt the Princes (Shah Jahans) journey to Agmere is stayd by order from the king and reporte sayeth hee will returned for Burhanpur and that hee will send his sonn, a childe—yeares of age, in the conductt of Drabb (Darab Khan 2nd son of Khan-e-Khanan) and divers others of his one servants to the quantetye of five thousand horse to guarde Tutta and to take with them in the waye Bikar Mageets (Vikarmajit), the Raja in Amadavaz, and the Raja Janne, Chann Channa (Khan Khanan) being gonn to Mandoe (Mandu) to Consulte upon this busines; wheare itt may be doubted thatt our names will bee questioned for assisting the Persian, and (as some heere sayeth) for givinge him transportt of men and munision in our shippes to Tutta (a baseless rumour); which wee should be unwilling to heare of. Yf soe, wee must pleade innosence, and abide the brunt of an unseasonable conditioned man'.

- 309 According to the Agreement B entered into by the Surat authorities with the English, the English were allowed free trade with all the ports in the Kingdom of the Moghul—Jahangir Padshah—among which Sinda was one.

### 1624 - 1629

xxxii An invitation had been received from Sind (in 1629) for the establishment of an English Factory in that country and a native agent had been despatched to make enquiries and procure samples of the goods procurable there.

27 A contract entered into in 1624 between the English and the Surat authorities allowed the English free trade at 'SCYNDA' and other ports.

54 On February 19th, 1625 a small vessel was captured by the English fleet—bound from Sindy to Muskat; but she was released because she had 'banians' in her.

71 William Minor describing the voyage of the SCOUT in 1625 in Arabian and Persian waters wrote:-

19th July. Here—at Burum,  $14^{\circ} 20' N$ —was a junke of Sindy which was come from Mocho and for fear of us the English —sent her money to Shaher and there to take it in.

72 23rd August. Seing a sail and supposing it to be the Anne, the SCOUNT put out to sea. 24th August. The stranger proved to be the Sindia junk which had gone from Burum to 'Shaher' to lade dates &c. and was now bound for India.

152 President Kerridge and others at Surat while reporting political news to the Company in their letter dated 29th November 1626 wrote:-

Yet newe and greater stirrs suspected; Carom—Kurram—having passed with 3000 horse onely from Decan through this country unto Sindey determining to have fledd into Persia.

173 President Kerridge and other at Surat to John Bangham at Lahore dated 6th February 1627:-

You rightlie observe the Perwannas procured from Mahobett Chan are of noe force; and except Assaph Chan shew better effects of love then he hath done, his wilbe to as little purpose; whose injustice forced from us as well the 4000 rupees restored to Mafuz as the 10000 most wrongfullye extorted by the Sinde men (in compensation for the loss suffered by them on account of the capture of their boat by the English).

In David Davis' account of the voyage from Batavia to Surat in 1627 occurs the following:-

October 7th. A Surat Junk returning from Sinde brought intelligence that Ruy Freire had started from Muskat and all the soldiers he could muster to take some place in the Persian Gulf.

President Wylde and others at Surat to the Company dated 11 and 13th April 1629:-

'Synda solliciteth us to settle a factory there; which meane to attempt, having sent thither a broker to bring us musters of all comodityes there'.

### 1630 - 1633

The E. I. Company to the President and council at Surat dated 6th March 1630 :-

The settlement of a factory in 'Synda' must not be undertaken except after good consideration.

President Wylde and others at Surat to the Company dated 13th April 1630 :-

Our broker wee sent to Sindee—as advised in our last—to bring musters (Patterns: Portuguese—Mostra) of every severall comoditiie made in that place, is at last againe returned after much trouble and danger upon the way, having been detained upward of 8 months by reason of warrs and diffirencies betweene the Rajaes through whose country hee was to passe. Two bales indicoe, with sundry musters of white cloth, wee send you

upon these shippes: if they shalbe found usefull in England and beneficall to recompence the expence and charge of settling a factory in that place, your worships may determine and wee shall endeavour its performance..... There is noe doubt butt the king will graunt you lycense there unto, Asaph Chaune  
36 having often times demaunded of our people why wee did nott keepe a residency there alsoe. which argueth a consent may bee easily obtained.

- 123 President Rastell and others at Surat to the Company dated 31st December 1630 :-

'Mr. Wilde's proposition of settling a residency in Sinda hath bin a dispute of long antiquity, and therein such difficultyes do present themselves as it stands not with your safety to wade so farr in that bussines. were it for noe other reason then the unaccessableness of your shippes to comand that shoare; which indeed was the mainest obstacle why there was not an established factory in that place long hereto fore. And to transport any goods from thence by land to Surat hath in it soe much danger and incertaynty, besides an excessive charge that will render it altogether unprofitable'.

- 133 John Vian's account of the voyage of the Discovery from Surat to Gombroon and thence to England in 1630:

"March 31st. Met a vessell of 'SYNDA' bound for Gombroon".

- 193 President Hopkinson and others at Surat to the Company dated 23rd January 1632 :-

"The Speedwell has been ordered to return to Surat; she is not fit to be laden home, but will be employed out here. 'Wee purpose by hir to attempt trade in Syndy'..."

- 207 Edward Heynes and other in Persia to the Company dated February 1632 :-

"The Dutch have attempted trade in Syndy, where they say they will settle and give over Surrat".

207 Footnote:- Philip Lukaszoon (Hague Manuscripts series 1, vol. ix, No. 318) says that in 1631 the ship Brouwershaven was sent to a place 'called Tata by the inhabitants but named Sindee in the charts'. Inspite of the miserable state of the district, owing to the famine, her cargo was sold at good prices, realizing a profit of 14000 Gulden. Samples of piece goods, cotton yarn, saltpetre, and an inferior sort of indigo were brought back, but the prices were found to be far higher than those usually paid, though this might have been due to the inexperience of the Dutch merchants, the prevailing scarcity, and the mechanizations of the Portuguese, as there is a considerable trade in such articles from that place to Persia, Arabia, the east coast of Africa, etc. There were many Portuguese residing there, who were much annoyed by the arrival of the ship, and threatened the Governor that they would depart if the Dutch were permitted to trade, and that Ruy Freire would bring his fleet to attack the town. This made no impression, however, and though the ship remained there about two months, no Portuguese vessel was seen, except two or three merchantmen. The Portuguese attached considerable importance to the place, and kept there an agent to collect dues (for passports) on outgoing and incoming vessels.

In a letter from the viceroy to king Philip, dated April 2, 1632 (N.S.), it is stated that a Dutch ship had gone to 'Sinde'; with (it was rumoured) farmans from the Great Moghul authorizing the establishment of the trade there. (Lisbon Transcripts: Doc. Remet., book 29, f. 245).

41 Edward Kirkham and others at Gombroon to the Company dated October 21, 1632 :-

'The Portugals doe dayly decline in the Indies; and noe question opportunitie will be offered, either at Syndie (see p. 5) or Seland (Ceylon), or other partes there adjacente, wherby

to joyne issue with those people and settle a trade may prove bennificial.'

### **1634-1636**

**XII-XIV** Towards the end of 1635 a particularly interesting experiment was entered upon by the despatch of a couple of vessels to Laribandar (termed by the Portuguese Diul-Sind) the port of Tatta in the Indus Delta. The first (and until the present venture the only English Ship to visit that port) was the Expedition (260 Tons) which under the command of Christopher Newport, landed Sir Robert Sherley there in the Autumn of 1613, but failed to obtain permission to trade owing to the opposition of the Portuguese. A further attempt was contemplated by Sir Thomas Roe and Asafkhan promised his assistance; but the strength of the Portuguese in those waters was held to be an insuperable obstacle. Still the project was always borne in mind; and in 1630 on receipt of some overtures from the Tatta Merchants, a native broker was despatched from to investigate and report. After an absence of several months he returned with patterns of piecegoods indigo etc. which were sent to England for the information of the Company. It was probably in connection with that venture that the Royal Farman and the letters of Asafkhan were obtained. Nothing however came of this at the time, though a Dutch Vessel paid a visit to Laribandar in 1631. Now that the agreement with the Portuguese had removed the fear of violence on their part the scheme was revised; and letters were written to some brokers at Tatta commissioning them to buy a quantity of calicoes in anticipation of the coming of an English ship later in the year. Shortly after arrived a Parwana from Asaf Khan, who was Subadar of the Province of Sind, guaranteeing the English the same privileges there as they enjoyed in other parts of the Mogul's dominions; and in September a letter was received from the Company ex-

pressly directing that the attempt should be made. Thereupon it was determined to send thither the *Discovery* and the *Bassein*. The direction of the enterprise was entrusted to William Fremlen, assisted by two other factors; and the vessels sailed at the beginning of November. The *Discovery* it was arranged was to go Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) after landing the Merchants and taking in any freight that could be obtained.

XVI-XVII The *Discovery* after much troubles had with the opportune aid of some Portuguese frigates found her way to the mouth of the Indus, and on 3rd December 1635, Fremlen and his companions landed at Laribandar. They were well received by the Officials and Merchants who were in hopes that by sending their goods to Gombroon in English vessels they would be able to escape the payment of the duty levied by the Portuguese on ships navigating those waters. In this, however, they were disappointed, for the President and the Council had given strict orders that nothing should be done which would deprive their new allies of any dues they had hitherto received. After staying a few days at the port, the English factors proceeded to Tatta where again they were cordially welcomed. However the merchants could not be induced to put any goods abroad the *Discovery* for Persia, as they feared that by so doing they would expose themselves to reprisals at the hands of the Portuguese; and Fremlen found himself forced to buy instead a quantity of rice and cotton wool for sale at Gombroon. With this merchandise the *Discovery* departed for Persia on 6th January 1636. Meanwhile Fremlen had dispatched overland to Surat a letter giving a hopeful account of the trade of the district dwelling on the additional advantage of bringing goods from Agra by way of Multan and thence down the Indus. The *Bassein* was sent back to Surat with a few goods; and was immediately despatched again to Laribandar with a quantity of lead etc. She

failed however to reach that port owing to the contrary winds and returned to Surat on 8th March.

XVII The factors after placing the remainder of their goods and cash in the hands of an Indian Broker left Tatta on 23rd February and embarked a few days later in the Hopewell reaching Surat early in April after a hazardous voyage.

It having been determined to attempt the trade of Sinda, this year, letters were sent to Lakshmidas and other brokers there resident, who returned encouraging replies; and soon after came a Parwana from Asaf Khan, "who of his own accord made free offer of that port subsisting under his government with such privileges as that we enjoyed in other places". In reply they promised to repair thither; which from that time was constantly resolved, as soon as the fleet from England bring the necessary means. Meanwhile arrived the Company's letters of 10th October 1634; and finding therein a clause expressly directing our search of Sinda, with promise of a supply of means they proceeded at once to make preparations. The *Discovery* is to be summoned to the Bar of Surat from Daman and Messrs. Fremlen, Spiller and Moyle are nominated for that employment. A sum of rupees thirty thousand is to be taken up at interest, out of which Rs. 25,000 are to be embarked on the *Discovery*.

Instructions to Messrs. Fremlen & Co., 25th October 1635. They are aware "how ancient our honourable employers Commands have been to attempt" the trade of Sinda and that the "one only impediment" has now been removed by the peace concluded with the Portuguese.

On reaching their destination they should enquire for—  
 (1) piece goods suitable for the English Market. They should remember however that 'in Sinda there hath bin noe such mishapp as in the province of Guzeratt hath occationed so great alteration'. (2) Indigo—a bale only—for want of means. (3) Saltpetre.

(4) Chequered stuffs for Guinea and piece goods for the Southwords.

Consultation at Surat 25th November 1635. Resolved to take 2000 maunds of the received 10000 for sale at Sinda, to which place they have determined to send the Hopewell with a cargo of £ 8,500.

**William Fremlen's account of his voyage from Swally to Tatta.**

1635 November 2. The ship sailed.

November 4. Anchored off Daman where the *Blessing* was lying. Fremlen landed and was met by the Rector and Father Reimao.

November 5. Visited the Captain of the Town and delivered the President's letter, offering the services of the English to procure him goods from Tatta. He replied that he would draw up a list.

November 9. The *Blessing* and the pinnace Francis departed for Surat. Fourteen Portuguese frigates arrived from Diu. The English vessels sailed the same evening.

November 14. Not far from Diu met five Dutch ships who asked for news. In reply to enquiries they stated that they had been dispatched from Batavia in the previous January to waylay the carracks about Mozambique; and that failing in this, they had proceeded to Gombroon and embarked some silk, with which they now bound for Surat.

November 22. Saw some very high land whereon the sun shining made it seem like chalky cliffs and appear as if by the sea it was separated into three parts, these by the Portugalls called Satta Gaam. (W. Foster in the English Factories in India, 1634-36, in a Note states—"In Speare's account he speaks of high hill which they call the Seven Cities, (Sat Gaon). Apparently they had sighted the Lakki Hills which run down to the coast at Ras Mauri, a little to the west of Karachi").

November 23. Sighted an island supposed to be that marked "Camela" in that platt. Foster's Note states "I, do Camello appears in the map of India given in the early English Translation of Linschoten. It shows as just off the mouth of the R. de Diul, i.e. the Indus. Alexander Hamilton places Camel I. in the same situation."

November 26. Saw divers Portuguese frigates belonging to the Muskatt Armado, but they took the English for Dutch and made inshore.

November 27. Dispatched a boat to the frigates to ask for a pilot who was sent on board accordingly.

November 28. Anchored right against the river's mouth. All this day we sailed in five or six fathoms water; which is the surest mark to find the road, for the land all amongst is alike low, without any mark or other to know any place more than another by; only on one side of the river's mouth there is a tree, which in the morning shows very plain, as the river itself does. At high water we had  $6\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms and at low water  $5\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms. The river water at the ebb enters into the sea as far beyond the place where we rode as it is from the ship to the river: so that it becomes of a whitish colour. Some Portuguese from the frigates came on board and gave them news of the arrival of the Hopewell at Bombroon; also of a capture of rich Portuguese frigate by the Dutch Fleet which the English had met. Letters were sent on shore to the Shah-bandar (to announce their arrival) and to their brokers (requesting them to repair on board).

November 30. The former replied expressing gratification at their coming.

December 2. The Brokers arrived from Tatta.

December 3. About mid-day I left the ship..... About two hours before night we came to the river's mouth, and found it divided

into creeks, which severally fall into the sea. There is a poor fisher town at the entrance into the river. We had not sailed a league further by the tide set so hard against us that notwithstanding a good gale of wind we had, we could hardly stemn it. We continued so, gaining little till the tide was spent, and then the wind slacked; yet with help of tide and oars we arrived at Bundar about mid-night, where we found divers Portugall frigates and other vessels of this country some lading and some unlading.

Foster's note on Bunder is as follows:-

Laribandar (or Lahoribandar) was for long the port of Sind in general and of Tatta in particular. Its exact position is doubtful owing to the great changes that have taken place in the Indus delta, but it seems to have been situated on the right bank of the Piti branch of that river, not far from the mouth. Alexander Hamilton who was there at the end of the 17th century, when it was first declining in importance, describes it as being "about five or six leagues from the sea, on a branch of the River Indus capable to receive ships of 200 tons. It is but a village of about 100 houses, built of crooked sticks and mud; but it has a large stone fort with four or five guns mounted in it".

December 4. The Shahbandar, being come to the Custom House, sent his son with another Principall merchant to the river's side to welcome me on shore and to accompany me to his father, who received me with all respect and courtesy; and having discourse a while with him, he ordered one of the best houses in the town to be prepared for us. and had caused 7 or 8 horses to be in readiness to carry us thither. The Custom House is an open place upon the river's side and betwixt it and the town is nigh two flight shott. The town well inhabited though ill built, the houses being most of mud, supported with such poor timbers that it is a wonder how they stand; to their

rooms they have Kita Ventos (Portuguese *cata-vento*) primarily a weather cock, but also applied to a ventilator, air - shaft, or any other contrivance for creating a draught. Lockyer in his "Account of the Trade in India" (1711) describes the houses at Gombroon as having on top "wooden contrivances ..... to strike winds into the rooms under them; they are about ten foot high and at a distance look like so many little towers".

Otherwise the town is well provided of all necessaries; fish and fruit in abundance and incredibly cheap; hens at four pice each, sheep at a rupee each; rice and butter very cheap; and all other victualling. Wax is scarce to be had and therefore extraordinary dear. The customs and the government of the town are taken and exercised by Asaph Chan's (Asaf Khan) substitutes.. The country thereabouts is governed by one Rawnah Jeeah, son of that Rawnah Ummer (Mr. G. P. Tate says that the title of Rana was borne by the Chief of the Nakamaras, a tribe inhabiting the country at the mouths of the Indus; but he has not been able to identify the two Ranas here mentioned) to whom Asaphkhan's parwana was directed which we received in Brampore jointly with the King's firman. His ancestors have formerly been owners of all the countries bordering on that part of the sea; though now since the general dissolution it be reduced under the Mogul's dominions. There are three or four padrees, who have a very mean place to exercise their devotions in; and the Portugal factor that we found hath (considering the place) a reasonable good house to dwell in.

December 6. The Portugalls hearing that we treated with the merchants of the town for carrying their goods to Bunder Abassee (i.e. Gombroon) and fearing that we would accordingly undertake it, came to the port with four frigates of war, threatening the merchants to rob their goods in the river before ever they

should arrive to the ship, if they endeavoured to lade them on our ship. The Capt. More (Capitao Mor, Chief Commander) of the frigates wrote to Wm. Fremen also concerning the same business, and was answered immediately.

December 7. The Shahbandar sent us for a feast divers goats, hens, meal, flour, rice, butter and sugar. And having spent five days there and nothing concluded betwixt the merchants, Portugalls, and us touching lading their goods on our ships. and being generally intreated as well by the Shahbandar as merchants there then present to repait to Tattah, where Ogga Avezell Bucksee (i.e. Aga Afzal. the Bakhshi or paymaster) (who had the direction of the business of the Bunder) and the chiefest merchants were resident. would doubtless determine something or other.

December 9. About three o'clock in the afternoon we set forwards; and having travelled about as much ground as is betwixt Surat and Bariaw (Variao. about three miles from Surat); we came to pass the river that runs under the port: which like the river of Surat, incompasseth so much ground as (being by the same river invironed on the other side and joining again below the Bunder) makes an island. We hired camels to carry six mounds pucka to Tuttah for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  rupees per camel. It was an hour **within** night before we got all our things over. being ferried over by **one only boat**, which is kept there to that purpose; yet thence we travelled in the night time about five course to a town called Hingora (A village of Hingora is shown on the Indian Atlas sheet of the district as  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of "Mosque Lahoree Bundur" and  $27\frac{1}{2}$  miles of west of Tatta equal with that of Bundar Laharee).

December 10. Next morning being Thursday we removed thence and passed underneath the town a creek of the river pretty deep. We also found on the way in several places divers com-

panies of watchmen, who exacts some petty gifts from these country merchants travelling to and from. About three o'clock in the afternoon we passed the said river again, having travelled about 14 course. Thence to Tuttah is 6 course; so that towards nine o'clock at night we arrived there; being from our passage from the city gate to our house welcomed, even by the poor mechaniques, with their accustomed well wishes. Fremlen was troubled with fever every other day.

. . . . .

Richard Forder in his account of the voyage of the Discovery to Laribandar and Gameroon, writes —

22nd November, 1635, saw land to the westward of Cindy...high land and ragged withall. November 25, sighted the island called Cammell. November 27, obtained a pilot from some Portuguese frigates. November 28, anchored at the mouth of the river and sent the skiff ashore to Banderlairye .... being 12 or 14 mile up the river.

. . . . .

Wm. Fremlen and Jn. Spiller wrote from Tutta to the President at Surat on 18th December 1635.

Wrote from Daman and also by the Dutch Fleet. On November 28, after a tedious passage, their vessel managed to reach an anchorage about two leagues from mouth of the river. Sent letters ashore and received replies expressing much content for our arrival. On December 2, the broker arrived from Tatta, and the following night they landed at the town called Bundar Laharee. They were warmly received by the Customer, who (with such merchants as were at the Bundar) expressed much joy and content for our coming, so long as they knew not but that we would transport their goods custom free to Muscatt, but when they heard the contrary, they were as much aggrieved. After five days had been wasted in negotiations for freight,

it was decided to go to Tatta: and on December 9, they set out for that place. Fremlen being carried in a Pallankeene lent for that purpose by the Customer. On the night of the following day after a journey of 20 kos, they reached their destination. On the 11th his fever forced Fremlen to keep to the house; but on the next day he visited both the Governor Dowlett Ckaun (Daulat Khan) and Bakshi Agga Avezell; from each of whom he received extraordinary welcome, from the Governor in regard of former acquaintance in Agra; from the Bucksee because of Asaph Ckaun's peremptory injunction of affording all courteous usage towards us. Bought 300 mounds of butter and 200 oil, to lade in the Bassein for Surat; other provisions (wheat, rice and etc.) are dearer here than in the latter place. Beg that the boat may be sent back to them as soon as possible as she will be of great service in carrying goods to the ship. At the port they found not only a Portuguese factor but two galliots laden for Congo (Kangun in Persia) and two others which had arrived with the four frigates of the Muskat armadoe. Fremlen treated with the Factor how the merchants might be accommodated in lading their goods in our ships and the Muskat customs secured for the Portugall. He replied he had no orders to receive here, nor durst. So that we determined, if the merchants would have laden their goods on our ships and paid the Muskat customs to have received them to the Viceroy's use according to your order. The Bassein may be again laden with provisions here upon her return, if this be thought worth while; but her present cargo has cost a whole week's labour. One day was spent in council twixt the Bucksee and chief merchants of the town. The Bucksee was very earnest with them to laden their goods on our ship; they as willing, if the payment of the Muskatt custom had not interposed for except they were freed of them they conceived their goods as safe and as cheaply carried in the

Portugall vessels as in ours. Besides, the greater and better part of them have their factors and warehouses in Muskatt; so that fearing to displease the Portugalls by lading their goods on our ships they have jointly determined this year to transport them on the Portugall vessels; and as nigh as they can to withdraw both their people and goods out of the Portugals possessions; so that by the next year, they hope that some course will be taken at court for expelling the Portugals, conditionally our ships shall certainly arrive here by the entering of the easterly monsoon, when they, relying assuredly hereon will provide their goods and have them ready at Bundar by that time whereas now they do all their business commonly after the vessels are arrived to transport them; so that many times the Portugals with their vessels attended the coming of their goods, sometime two, nay three months, and often to the losse of their monsoons. The Bucksee and the Customer we find most contented when most ships arrive to their port, not so much caring whence they come or whose they are; for as they seriously invited us so (notwithstanding that last year's bloody fact of the Portugalls) they did alike solicit their arrival this year; for till these frigates came there was not a vessel to be seen at port, nor any trade stirring. So that they could be best contented if some agreement were made betwixt the Viceroy and you, that not only their and our ships and frigates might indifferently trade hether, but also the merchants might be in part eased of the Muskatt Customs. As no freight can be obtained they are providing 1000 maunds of rice and 500 of cotton wool with which they hope to despatch the ship by Christmas at the latest. Even if the merchants had agreed to put freight on board it would have been impossible to get her away this month, as neither at nor here are any goods ready fardled, but lie loose in the merchants' houses. Besides, this is a new business, and they cannot expect to find everything ready and settled as in other places. Fremlen's illness is not urged as an

excuse, because he has not allowed it to interfere with his work though his fever has undoubtedly been aggravated thereby. Enclose his account of the voyage hither. The nearest adjoining city unto this of Tuttah is Nusserpore (Nusserpur in the Tando Alahyar Taluka of Hyderabad District. The river is now miles away to the west) being the chiefest place for clotheing in these parts. Reports says near upon 3000 families of weavers inhabit there. City itself is as big if not greater than this, about 30 course distant from this place and situated on this river; so that coming down with the current, charges of transportation must be very little. The Baftaes there made called joories, are in lenght 17 coveds (the Covado (cubit) was the Portuguese equivalent for the Indian Gaz, which contained 24 tasus; Fryer says 32 tasus is an English yard). Tuttah make Guzaratt coveds 20 $\frac{1}{2}$  (nearest) and in breadth  $\frac{3}{4}$  coveds, which make tussus of Guzaratt coveds 22; yet will the weavers be induced to frame the lenghts and breadths to our wills; so that an Englishman being there settled might doubtless make as large investments of cloth as have formerly been, even in Broach. The cloth is very substantial thread even spun and well woven. Samples will be sent by the *Bassein*. Saltpetre is also said to be made there in good quantities; while, butter, grain, etc. are brought thence to this place for sale. Seahwaun is a city seated (Sehwan, 84 miles north-northwest of Kotri. The river has now deserted the town) also on this river, and in distance from this place 60 course by land. The chiefest commodity there made and in the adjacent towns is indigo, in form like that of Byana, yet nothing so good, because in the making they are accustomed to mingle sand with it, which not only makes it hard but heavy withall; yet doubtless they might be brought to make it pure and good, as that of Byana, if the merchants there reside would condiscend to allow them somewhat more upon the maund. About 2000 maunds are yearly made; the weight there 36 pice per seer, though in Tutta

at resale it be weighed at 40 pice per seer. About 1000 households of weavers live there also, who make a very good sorts of baftaes, shorter than those of Nusserpore 3 Tuttah coveds, yet larger 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches; however, the weavers might facilie be induced to proportion their work to such lenghts and breadths as should be inordered them. Butter and oil is brought thence hether in great abundance. Opium is also made there in great quantities. And the greatest part of these commodities is brought hether for sale per via river; which arrive thence commonly in 10 days. The freight is usually 6 maunds of 40 pice per seer per rupee. Other charges of customs in diverse places is about 18 or 20 rupees upon a boat that carries 100 maunds or more; whereof 6 rupees are paid in Seahwaun. Buckur (Bukkur) another city is situated on this said river and about 250 course from this place yields baftaes in good quantities, being equal in lenght and breadth with those of Seahwaun. Besides, clothing little else comes thence, excepting wheat, oil. and the like. The chiefest of the port towns in the country of Cutch is Rean Mundy (Mandvi, that is the Mart, is evidently intended. Rean may be Riyan), which is said to have been an ancient name of the port whether the Portugalls trade, bringing thether cockernuts and carrying thence cotton wool. Beyond Rean Mundy, about six days journey by land is Naangana (Bhuj, the capital of Cutch, appears to have been meant. The name in the form of Cuts (Cutch)—Nagana seems to have been applied in the 17th Century to the whole district. One of the Native vessels captured by Sir Henry Middleton in 1612 was said to have come from "Cuts-nagana". Alexander Hamilton refers to the province and town of "Cutch-naggan"; while Tavenier speaks of the country of the King of Kachnagana; and Manucci of Cachnagano.) situated about 20 course within the land from the sea; but neither thence nor other parts of Cutch is ought but cotton wool and grain brought hether. Tuttah, distant from Bundar Lahree about 28 course

by land, hath in itself 3000 families of weavers; yet the greatest part of them make not other than divers sorts of checkered alejas vendible in Persia and Turkey, whether they are in great quantities transported by the merchants of place to the ports of Congo and Bussara. Other weave diaper clotheing, and very few bafetaes, and those very fine, most part of the city use, the great bulk of clotheing coming from places prementioned. Here also is a course sort of ginghams, which they call seriaes, made of purpose for sails, of double thread, containing in lenght about 20 coveds Guzaratt and 19 tussaes Guzaratt broad. The diapers are of various sizes, but could no doubt be made to order. The saltpetre made here is very good, but very dear, viz.. 6 rupees per maund. Cotton yarn also (its quality considered) is 30 to 40 per cent dearer here than in Surat or Ahmadabad; and this is due to the fact that the only cotton wool procurable is that brought from Cutch. The merchants of this place that constantly trade to Congo and Bussara do (and that necessarily) provide themselves of indigo and sugar from Agra; which, in consideration of the immense charge the Honorable Company is at in transportaction of their chapilaes (Quafila, caravan) from Agra to Surat, arrives to them hether gratis. Their custom is to hire carts from Agra to Multan (because betwixt Lahree (Lahore) and Multan the river is in divers places somewhat shallow) at 2 or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rupees per maund; there they embarque it, and with all charges of customs included, costs them not above one rupee per maund from thence to Tuttah. The silk from Agra belonging to Jadu has made 25 per cent profit, and might have made 10 percent more had it not got wet during the voyage. At present there is no sale for this commodity, owing to the arrival of great quantities. They think however that on some small quantities (about 100 maunds of this place) yearly brought from Bengal good profit might arise; but it must be of the sorts termed in Agra Poolie and Churra. Sugar and lac would sell to advant-

age here, but not so much profit as in Persia. Runas (madder) is in good esteem. As regards commodities from England, Bantam etc., the enclosed list will current prices. Very little of any will vend, and least of all the Europe goods, some of which (as coral and amber beads) are not known or used here. Gold is cheaper and less desired than silver. The rupee they brought are worth less than those of this place by one pice on each rupee. Had the money been remitted by exchange from Ahmadabad they would have gained two per cent, besides avoiding the risk of carrying coin. The exchanges hence to Ahmadabad at present is one per cent loss, and 61 days of payment. Prices of interest are commonly  $1\frac{1}{4}$  and 1 per cent (per month?). In view of the shortness of their stay, they will not be able to get any baftas except of the lengths and breadths usually made. By the former relations of the several places where cloth etc is made you will, we hope, resolve of setting a factory here, a year only for a trial, and afterwards either dissolve or continue it as you shall by the investment be encouraged or disuaded; for however, our ships in regard of the Portugalls may not take in **FREIGHT GOODS** (for not indamaging their Muskatt Customs) yet they, coming from Surat laden for Persia may take this place in their way and set ashore such men and means as shall be thought fit to be assigned for the employment; and returning from Persia to Surat may also visit this place and take in such goods and provisions as shall be prepared. Commodities of this place would yield competent profit in Persia; the cost of freight is given in the list enclosed. Will bring samples of each kind with them, and will send by the boat patterns of canrikeens and baftas dyed blue for Basra. Have given the weavers specimens of niccanees and will report prices later. Mr. Lucas complains much of the ships disability for performing the voyage, on account of the lack of cables and other stores, and want of men; his own letter will give details. Although here be no great need of firmans or par-

wanas, being so kindly entertained as no such things were enquired after, yet we doubt not but you have invited (i.e. dispatched) hether such other (if any) as have arrived since our departure. They would have been much more welcome had they been able to transport these merchants' goods free of the Muskat customs; and they believe that in that case double or treble the rate of freight could have been obtained. It is not merely the amount of the customs that is resented, but the long delay (ordinarily a month) that is entailed. The merchants of this place, as well natives as strangers, when they fardle their goods, do always advise the customers vakil, who is constantly resident in this city (at present his son supplying the place) who sends with them a scriven (writer, Portuguese escritvao) and takes in writing as well the quality as the qantity of the goods so packed, and upon dis-speed of them to the port sends the particulars of each man's goods, whereupon they make their reckoning and dispatch them. Tappidas and Chohut have over rated their goods at least 80 per cent. Horses are very scarce and dear; inquire whether they are to supply the captain of Daman with any, inaccordance with his request. If you resolve of setling a factory in this place, you cannot well accommodate the several imployments here and in the adjacent towns with fewer than five factors, three whereof should be able merchants, and thus disposed of; the chief to remain here and negotiate as well the business at port as direct the rest and comply with your factory in continued advices of what passeth; another to be employed at Nussurpore whose investments may be continued all the whole year long; a third for Seahwaun, because the indigo season is just the time of the monsoon, even till December, besides investing the cloth of that place which (as we said) might doubtless be plentifully there achieved; the fourth to be a common penman who also may keep the cash, and with the fifth (who may keep the petty expenses) be ready for all other services of packing etc. Here are also patty divers

customs which the merchants in general pay to the Governor of this city, as on all provisions one quarter pice per rupee and one seer of the sort invested upon each corwar (khar-war, an ass's load); and all sorts of cloth brought from other places and should in this city the buyer says  $\frac{3}{4}$  pice per rupee and the seller  $\frac{1}{2}$  pice; and many the like; which although we denied to pay and opposing it as much as might be, yet they to maintain their customs would not remit it, proferring us otherwise seemingly the gift of twice as much in ready money. However, this might easily at court be removed if once Asaph Ckaun were acquainted that it disgusts us.

Enclosed in the foregoing letter is the following:-

#### **FREIGHTS AND PRICES AT TATTA**

The cost of freight from Scinda to Persia varies with the number of vessels available. The usual charge for indigo, sugar etc. is 7 rupees or 17 laris (for in that denomination they make their reckoning) per corwar, which is equivalent to 8 maunds of this place or pucca 40 pice per seer. For piece-goods the rate is the same a certain number of pieces (list given) being reckoned to the corwar. The list of piece-goods includes joories, cuds, whether silk or thread, taffisees, Jamawars, cudburgees, alaboo-laes, coarse dutties, black buftas; Fettipoores, lungrees, hommomy; cambooles; dustars Armeniaes, dustars gullamies; canrikeens, burtungeers, or red j $\frac{1}{2}$  ries; and woolen clothes of Mirta, Lahore etc. Prices at Tatta (per maund of 40 pice per seer) of vermillion, quicksilver, elephants' teeth, lead, tin, spices, cinnamon, sugar, indigo, Bangala silk, (churra and poohly) newsoddur (sal-ammoniac, Nausagar) rice, wheat, piece-goods etc. Venitians (sequins) are valued at 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  rupees per tola of 11 masas (usually 12 masas went to the tola); 100 reals of eight are reckoned as equivalent to 205 $\frac{1}{2}$  rupees; abasses are worth 100 rupees for 110 $\frac{1}{2}$  tolas; and 112 tolas of silver in bullion have the same value.

- 133 With this list may be compared Hamilton's remarks on the  
 4th Footnote piece-goods of Sind (New Account, Vol. I., page 126):-

They manufacture in wrought silks which they call Jemawars: in cotton and silk called cuttenees and in silk mixed with carmania wool, called culbuleys; in calicoes coarse and fine, sheer and close wrought. Their cloth called jurries is very fine and soft and lasts beyond any other cotton cloth that I have used. They make chints very fine and cheap and coverlets for beds very beautiful.

Fettipoores are apparently stuffs made at Fathpur.

Cambooles may be kamibli, a coarse woolen wrapper or blanket. The Dustars are turbans, and the variety named is probably the head-dress of the Ghulams (slaves) employed by the Persian king as attendants and messengers. As regards cudds, Mr. Tate says that khad is the name of a coarse cloth used in Sind (khadi).

- 136 President Methwold and Council at Surat write to the E.I. Company on 2nd January 1636:-

This letter of ours yet being under way, before we could have their answer we received a parwana or letter from Asaph Chaune, which invited us with the premise of fair entertainment and free trade upto his port of Larre. And here for your better information you may be pleased to understand that Sindh is the name of the river Tuta the town or city of trade, and Larree the port, where all goods which are imported, especially in great ships are landed and transported to Tata, the river (running?) with so swift a stream that with much difficulty any vessels can get up by water; but from Tata to the ships they come ordinarily to with boats and that in a very short time. Not long after, we received full answer unto our letters from Tata, and such fair encouragement that we were confirmed in our former resolutions and attended only time and means to put them in execution. Meanwhile, they wrote to the brokers, assuring them of their

determination, and to Asaf Khan, informing him with thanks that they intended to send ships to his port and that they relied on his protection and countenance. On September 20, they received the Company's letter of October 10, 1634 to which they now replied in detail.

- 152-53 President Methwold's letter dated 15th January, 1636 to the Factors at Tatta.

Without relinquishing the trade of Sinda they expect that the next discovery will be made from Agra to Multan and so down the river. Have received from Dangee (Dhanji) copies of two farmans granted by the king for the Sinda trade, one of them unto the Governor which commands your fair usage; another unto you, which giveth delassa (encouragement) and encouragement to follow this trade; also copies of Asaf Khan's parwanas to his servants there, besides one to the President which doth most curiously promise his abundant favour and assistance in all causes upon all occasions. No doubt these documents will help to overcome any petty difficulties. Desire them to hasten hither on the *Discovery*. Mallick Beag (Malik Beg) is said to have stolen away from Biana without paying his debt, and to have gone to Tatta. If so, an endeavour should be made to recover the money.

- 164 President Methwold and Council (Surat) to Factors at Tatta 3rd February, 1636 urge the purchase of calicoes, saltpetre etc. As regards the patterns of piece-goods forwarded from Sind, the 'Carolees' and 'Papulees' are found to be much better made than those of Gujerat and cheaper also than the latter were until recently. 'Nekanees' on the otherhand can be bought in Broach at cheaper rates of as good a quality; the 'Redd Joory' is thought good value; the 'Cannekeens and Baftaes' are about on a par with those from Ahmedabad, the 'Joodpore' (Jodhpur) can be equalled at Surat at the same rate; the broad Bafta seems thin and dear; the narrow Baftaes are very good, but it is profitable

to buy those of Nosari at Surat than to bring others from Sind. The prices of provisions are about the same here as in Sind but some butter, oil, rice and wheat may be laden in the Bassein to show the quality.

- 181 William Fremlen writes from abroad the Hopewell near Laribandar to the President and council at Surat on 10th March, 1636.

Left Tatta on February 23, reached Bandur (Laribandar) two days later, and sent the goods on board next day. They have tried in vain to get over the bar, owing to violent winds but trust to sail shortly. The goods laden aboard the ship are calicoes, cotton purwasse, and combera, which are gross commodities vendible in Gujarat. Spiller has been dangerously ill but is now better. The goods etc. at Tatta have been left in the charge of Lickmidas.

- 191-92 Messrs. Fremlen, & others, aboard the LONDON at Swally to the Company, April 12, 1636.

Arrival of the Hopewell from Laribandar on April 3, bringing 79 bales of piece-goods, one of indigo, and 60 of cotton yarn; also a quantity of arseffaetida, purwasse, googur (Indian bdellium, a gumresin, obtained from a tree growing in Sind, Kathiawar etc., it is used medicinally, and also in the making of cement, and cambeera; these being usually brought thence by the native merchants). The country yields all sorts of commodities vendible in England, Persia and Turkey more especially the latter, whether the chiefest part of goods procurable in Synda are yearly laden. Those seasonably invested to do doubtless return their owners good profit; for all sorts of Indian goods none are in such request as those of Synda nor find more ready vend, as being in regard of their substance and colours most requirable. For the road, it is far from the shore, and a most dangerous bar interplaced, denying passage to ships that draw above 12 foot water in the easterly monsoon, and in the westerly 10 or 11 foot, for

then the winds off the sea are most violent and meeting with that strong outlet of the river raised the sands upon the bar and maketh one or two foot difference in depth of water thereon. Notwithstanding from the beginning October to the middle February the land wind keeps the bar so smooth that ships of what burthen soever may embarque their goods with as much convenience as may be desired; and being fitted with vessels of such a drought as mentioned, namely 9, 10. or 11 foot water may freely from the fine (end) September to the fine March go and return at their pleasure. For watering and wooding nature hath provided abundantly and conveniently gratis to all such as please to make use of it. Provisions of all sorts are there most plentifully to be acquired and cheaper by far than any other place of India at present affords them. Besides these the accustomary manner of conveyance of goods bought in Agra by Synda merchants, being first transported to Lahore or Multan on carts, and thence by river to their place of embarking not coming to cost them above three rupees per maund of 72 lbs. is considerable, when as your goods bought in Agra besides the dangerous and tedious passage they have by Amdabad or Byrmmpore heap up to their prime cost such unavoidable and excessive charges that it cannot but cause admiration in all such as behold it. On Fremen's departure he left the remaining goods and money (nearly 10,000 rupees) in the hands of the brokers to be invested in calicoes.

206 President and Council at Surat to the Company, 28th April, 1636.

In accordance with the Company's orders large purchases have been made of piece-goods and cotton yarn. Those procured for Europe are the best and cheapest; those of Baroda and Baroach are coarse and dear and much inferior to those of Synda.

207 Have also forwarded to Bantam some of the goods received from Synda.

210 William Walgrave left for Sinda to cure the Governor of an 'infirmitic' wherein he hath given him much ease.

243-45 William Fremlen's letter dated 1st May 1636 to the Company.

Wrote last from Sinda Road by the Discovery then about to start for Gombroon. Was at that time confident of sending the Hopewell back to Surat full laden by the middle of February and of accompanying her himself in order to embark in the Discovery for England. After despatching that ship for Gombroon he returned to Bandurlaree (Laribandar) with two chests of treasure, some broad cloth, sappen wood, and lead; while the Hopewell followed him into the river. His first business was to despatch the Bassein to Surat with advices, copies of which, he understands, have been sent to England. Proceeding next to Tatta, he found there a farman procured and sent by Asaph Ckaun, whose port that of Bandurlaree is, and who exceedingly desires a continued settled residence there, commanding our favourable reception and accommodation; as also peremptorily in ordering that whatsoever manner of trade and merchandizing we used in Surad should be left free to us to exercise, if those already practised in city or port (did not content?) us. This being come to our hands (although in respect of our receipt it was needless, as having been accommodated in whatsoever we would or could desire with modesty) became a great encouragement unto me to exact the performance of whatsoever it imported as touching the customs. Busied himself in collecting suitable calicoes and had quickly cleared the town of all such. Found also some others of a narrower sort, such as the Portugalls and other merchants of that city usually buy and dye into a deep blue and transport to Bussora, of which infinite quantities were available; but after examining a large number of different kinds of piece-goods, he pitched upon a cloth made at Sehwan, which he trusts will be found satisfactory. There being still room in the ship, he then bought a quantity of goods suit-

able for Surat, where they afterwards sold to good profit. His broadcloth was not in much demand; but the lead fetched a good price, though its sale was upset by the competition of a quantity brought by the ship's company. Fremen was unable to discover the names of the owners but the master of the Hopewell can doubtless give this information. Most of the trade is done by barter, for there is little money stirring. About the latter end of February (and seldom sooner) very great flat-bottomed boats, of 100 tons burthen and upwards, come down from Lahore, laden with sugar, sugar candy, nowshodder (nowsagar, sal-ammoniac), ginger dry and conserved, and the like commodities; and those they barter away for pepper, tin, lead, spices, broadcloth, dates, cockernutts, and the like or whatsoever else vendible up in the country... neither is the gain contemptible which they get by their boats, for by them they usually make 50 percent profit. In or about Tuttha groweth no timber fit for aedifices, nor have they any but what is thus brought them. Fremen is convinced that much expense would be saved to the Company by bringing down their Agra goods via Lahore to Tatta instead of by way of Burhanpur or Ahmadabad to Surat. To this may be added another convenience of the port itself, which is contrary to what here practised. For here the Governor's will is the law; so that he sets what prices he pleaseth on commodities, that thereby it cometh to pass that whiles you think pay but  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent your custom stands you in twice as much, for the goods are oftentimes rated at double the prices they cost, as was that indigo I bought in Agra which costing 61 rupees per maund was here rated by Mazel Mulk at 110 rupees, because, he said, it was worth so much in Persia. But at Bundar Laree it is not so; for there the prices are known and set down in a rate book, not to be innovated or altered at every covetous or unjust Governor's will, as appeareth in this note inclosed. In the rating of your calicoes etc. you will enjoy the same privilege which the Feytor or Agent only

for the Portugalls doth for so much goods as himself buyeth, which are under-rated 30 yea 40 per cent less than the rest of the Portugall nation or natives of that country have their goods valued, yea, so much less than in the book of rates specified. Left Tatta on February 23, reached Bundar Laree the third day after, and by March 2, was ready to embark. Going to take leave of Shawbunder, Customer, or Governor (for he exerciseth all these three offices) most courteously he accompanied me to the water-side, whilst the Portugalls complained much of the courtesy done them, who (having so many years frequented their port) never received such entertainment nor ever had their goods such dispatch as those of the English had; which because they publicly taxed the Governor with, in his behalf (wherewith he was very well content). I replied that the Governor did no more than was commanded him by the king and Asaf Chaun his master, and if he had done less I would have returned the farman and declared both to the king and Asaf Chaun his disobedience, which could not have produced other effects than immediate displacing. For what has since occurred he refers to the letter of April 12, intended to be sent by the Michael to Basra and so ordered. Reminds the Co: that ten years have passed since he was engaged as a Factor at a salary of £10 per annum for the 1st 3 years.

265 Factors at Surat report to the Co: 1636 for Guinea stuffs Sinda seems a more promising field.

78-79 Factors at Surat to the Co., 9th August 1636 Cobb's piratical proceedings result in the displeasure of the Moghul. A Din Junk deprived of everything. Consequently the English suffered in prestige, Ahmedabad factors arrested and left on bail, their effects sequestered until the kings pleasure. Agra English House also seized, broker imprisoned. In Sinda goods and money sequestered.

Din merchants put a claim for 117000 rials of eight as damages.

287 Drake to Surat Factors 7th September 1636.

The Parwanas to Tatta and Ahmedabad were only to command the release of the company's goods. This was the result of bribes given to Moghul officers like Khusru Khan.

294 Surat Factors to those at Maslipatum, 20th September 1636.

The king has ordered the release of the goods and persons at Ahmedabad, Agra and Tatta, but we are absolutely debarred by Asaf Khan's Parwana to repair any more unto Bunder 'Laree'. This is the result of pirates degradations.

### 1637-1641

**INTRODUCTION** We hear also of pinnaces being dispatched from Surat

VII to Laribandar the port town of Tatta, in Sind, the trade with which had become well established. After the return of Fremen and his companions from Scinda in March 1637, English interests seem to have been left in the hands of a native broker; but later in the year we find two factors sent to make investments there.

18 In March 1637 the following Englishmen were in Scinda. It may be added that the word Scinda was applied both to Tatta and to its port Laribandar.

William Fremen, John Spiller, and Richard Moyle.

24 Ahmedabad President to the Viceroy at Goa - 25th July 1637. Acknowledges that the company's vessels have been well received in Sind by the Portuguese in return for which he has done all he could to assist them (the President). For instance he refused to carry merchants and their goods from Tatta to Gammroon - Bunder Abass - under conditions which would have been prejudicial to the customs of Muscat. This has drawn upon him—the English President—the anger of Asaf Khan—without it seems earning the gratitude of the Viceroy (Portuguese).

57 The E. I. Company writes to the President at Surat in their letter dated 16th March 1638: The Sinda factory, for ought

we yet perceive has most cause to be cherished and persued than any of your callico factories, for the goods received from thence this shipping are the flower of the whole parcel and are preferred here before all others for their making and prices.... We shall, therefore, desire that you do not neglect that place (if a factory may there be permitted to be established) but see the same stocked sufficiently for the timely procurreing of callicoes and indigo. Of the former the Joorees Nursapoore are preferred. The sample bale of Sinda Indigo sent by the Discovery could not be found on the ships arrival in England.

- 8 Surat Council to the Agents in Persia dated the 20th December 1638. The Michael arrived on the 14th current from Lari Bander after a difficult of 18 days, she had  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet of water in her hold, much damaging her cargo of calico and indigo.
- 3 President Fremlen replies to the E.I. Company on the 4th January 1639 - "Rejoice to find the Scinda goods approved. We should have continued a factory there, if Cobbes (William Cobb) degradations had not disgraced us from thence. When that business was overblown, we resettled again. On Fremlen's diversion to Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) John Spiller and John Standford were moved from Broach to Sinda, whence they are expected shortly to return with a good cargo".
- 4 President and Council at Surat to the Company - 4th January 1639.  
Saltpetre is certainly a badd neighbour to be the goods, and since receiving the Company's letter they have refrained from adding to their stocks; but the Commanders of the ships affirm that if pepper be shot among the saltpetre it preventeth all prejudice, and as they have had an offer of some saltpetre from 'Sinda' which is both good and cheap, they would probably send home a further quantity.
- 98 Surat Council to the Company dated 4th January 1639.  
A part of lead is reserved for sale to the Portuguese or at 'Sinda'.

## 101 Same letter continued:-

As already advised, the Michael had been sent to Sinda, where Myre (Mir) Sheriffe (Sharif), the Moghull's ambassador to the Grand Signor seized her for his transportation to Mocha.

In the above connection appears the following :-

Earlier the Surat Council wrote to the Company - The Francis is next to be sent to Persia with freight goods and on her return voyage to call at Lari Bunder to bring away the Factors and their goods. When the Swan left Swally, John Spiller and John Stampford were about to sail for Laribunder in the Michael, carrying Rupees Ten Thousand and two Chests of Rials to pay for what the broker had already bought and to commence the new investment. From that port the Michael is to proceed to Persia with Butter and Oil. Being thither come shee againe returnes for Scinda to lade freight goods provided for Bussora by the Mogol's ambassador to the great Turke who also accompanieth them not daring to go by land for feare of the Persian. This imployment proceeds from Asaf Ckaune's intimation and intreaty.

Surat Factors to those at Basra under date 20th November 1637 write to say that they would try to evade the Moghul's ambassador in undertaking his journey by the Michael but it can't be avoided, Mr. Spiller must invest some money in Basra goods so that we may try this market. If evading succeeds, the Michael should once again take Butter and Oil and Rice to Gombroone and then take cloths from Sind to Gombroone.

Surat Factors detail out to the company how the Michael took the Moghul Emperor's ambassador to Basra and on return journey joined the Muscat gaurd and came to Sind where they received the cordial thanks of the ambassador.

102 Surat Council to the Company dated 4th January 1639:-  
The Francis did not get to Bunder Laree until March 14—and by the time she was laden, the winds were so strong that she could

not get over the bar and she was consequently obliged to winter there.

116 Same letter continued—The Bredum a Dutch vessel—would have carried the Indigo and other goods to Batavia last year but she was detained at Gombroon by a dispute over a Portuguese vessel she had captured laden with goods belonging to Indian merchants of Tatta.

119 The same letter continued—The Diamond which left here on November 7, is expected back in time to be dispeeded again before the end of January. She will possibly be instructed to take Tatta in her way: at least if news shall come of the arrival there of Philip Wylde, who was sent from Agra to Lahore to discover the conveniency of the river Indus unto the port of Bunder Larree.

34-38 Henry Bornford's account of his journey from Agra to Tatta, March 1638.

From Agra to Lahore are counted 300 course (a kos is about a mile and a half). 22 mounzells (halt, Arabic, Manzil) or ordinary days journeys. Places of note between them are diverse. First Dillie (Delhi) some 80 course from Agra, formerly the seat and title of these kings, now less famous and little frequented unless by Armenian and Persian merchants; the commodity that invites them thither being only chints, which are here made in good quantities well coloured in appearance little inferior to those of Mesulpatam, different sorts and goodness and so diversly prized. Thence to Paniputt (Panipat) are 42 course; an indifferent large town, in which is made much white cloth of the lengths and breadths of those of Semiano (Samana not far from Patiala famous for its calico), 11 covetts great in lenght and  $\frac{1}{2}$  in breadth; sent from hence to Seiound (Sirhind) and Lahore for sale. Thirty course from this is Tanesa or Taneceere (Thanesar) which affords store of conserves, as mangoes, hurly (the fruit harra or Harla or harda of Terminalia chebula Myrobalans,

made into a conserve with sugar), and ginger which latter was then to be bought at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  seer pucka per rupee. This is likewise the place for making nossadur (sal-ammoniac, newsagar) whose price was now  $6\frac{1}{2}$  rupee per great maund, and seldom or never that it passeth 7 rupees. The third munzelle from hence is Seroun or Senound (Sirhind) greatly frequented by the abovenamed merchants for chints, red sealae (cotton cloth) commodities of that place; sugar and sugar-candied the former made at Serwerpore (not identified, below it is called Serwerpore), 40 course wide of Seroun, and here prized at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  rupee per maund; not equalling that of Agra, there being but little so well coloured. The latter is brought from Muhum (Maham in Rohtak District) standing wide between Dillie and this place 50 course, was prized here at 12 rupees per maund. Hither from Semiano 25 course distant is brought much of the clothing. All which commodities are by the Persian and Armenian transported to Spahan and other parts thereabouts by the way of Candahar. From this town is 7 munzells to Lahore, the prime city of traffic in India; all commodities of the adjacent places being brought hither and are bought by the Wousbecks (Uzbegs) or Tartars, and so transported by Cabul into those parts, and by those of Casmeeie, as also by the abovenamed merchants. The prices of sugar and other commodities at present being there were as followeth: viz. sugar, the best (being white and full grain, not much less in goodness than that at Agra) was at 7 rupees per maund pucka, and the second sort at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  and 6; sugar-candy 11 rupees, which is made in this place in great quantities; these are usually transported by the Tuttah merchants down the river and thence exported to Muscatt, Congo, Bursora etc. Nosshader 10 rupees; all sorts of clothing as suffocannes (zafarkhanis), cantars (chautars), chints, salooes, according to their goodness; the former from 40 to 60 rupees per corge; salloos at 32 per corge. Hither is likewise brought the greater quantity of the Goria

(Koria) indigo, here well esteemed and 80 rupees the great maund. Freight or cartage of goods from the several places to Lahore etc., is as follows:- viz. from Agra (if the lascar (a camp or army) be not that way) way usually not above 2 rupees per maund; to Lahore from Serwerpore (whence the greatest part of the sugar comes to ditto place) 1 rupee for a maund; from thence Multan  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rupees; from Seround to Lahore is  $\frac{3}{4}$  rupee per maund; thence to Multan  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  from Lahore to Multan 46 seers per rupee; from Agra to Multan  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rupees per maund and 35 days passage. From Lahore to Tuttah the usual transport of goods is down the river in flat bottom boats of a thousand and 2000 maunds; first by Multan 150 course 11 days journey by land, and in so much time we accomplished it by water. Here is paid custom of all goods that either go by Candhar or else down the river to Sinda, at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. besides some other charges at the Gaut (Ghat) or passage which will amount to  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent more. Freight from hence to Tuttah is  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee per maund; but the best way is to buy a boat which here are cheap in respect of Lahore one at 2000 maunds burthen not costing more than 250 rupees or thereabouts which may likewise be sold at Tuttah, if not profit, yet to the price it cost. The Roderie (rajdari— a payment to the road keeper) of the way for all boats above 500 maunds to 2000 will not fall much under 1000 rupees besides payment of mariners and soldiers for its guards which cannot be less than 10 or 12 of the former and 20 of the latter. The goods for payment of customs in this place are valued according the bizar rate, though for 1000 rupees of goods sold together no man will give so much by 40 per cent. The value of Byana indigo was at 85 rupees the great maund; sugar candy 15 rupees per maund; sugar 10 rupees, and other commodities of cloth according to their different sorts. the rates continually varying. In Multan are made chints coarse and white cloth: the former in some quantity. the latter not much; hither is likewise sometimes

brought course sugar and sugar-candy, sold to the Tuttah merchants. From Multan the next place of note is Durbelah (probably Darbelo, 12 miles north of Naushahro. But it is below Bukkur, not above, as Bornford seems to imply), where is made of those narrow joories or baftaes, of lengths of those in Narsrapore (Nasarpur) 16 and 17 great covets, but not so broad, are here at 17 and 18 rupees per corge. From hence is Bucker (Bukkur) 200 course from Multan. Here is large quantity of oil and butter sold at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  seers per rupee and is based down the river to Tuttah. Between Bucker and Sewan (Sehwan) is 150 course; where is made quantities of narrow baftaes, bearing the name of Sewan Joories; bought here for  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  rupee per piece, of finer making than those of Nasarpore and 2 covets shorter in length. Near the town is Bubecka (Bubak 9 miles west of Sewan) and Sun (possibly Sann, on the river 30 miles south of Sehwan), is made the indigo transported for sale to Tuttah; the quantity by nearest inquiry was not more than 1000 great maunds, and there will cost new and wet 21 and 22 rupees per maund of 42 pice per seer. Charges of custom: to the Governor is 4 rupees per maund; to the town 1 rupee; and freight to Tuttah  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee. Indigo not good in appearance, indifferently esteemed, and is by the Tuttah merchants transported to Barsora (Basra) where it readily vends (sells) to good profit; the quantity no doubt may be increased if the quality cannot be bettered. Between Sewan (Sehwan) and Sur (Sun) till Halicandy (Hala Kandi, or old Hala), about 30 miles north of Sind Hyderabad (40 course) is always some danger; but was not now passable without a strong guard to Samidas (The Samidas can be no other than the Samija or Samejo, a numerous clan or tribe in Sind of the present day) whose country lieth amongst the other side of the river, being at variance with that Governor. In the midway from hence to Tuttah is Nasrapore, a place which had formerly yielded greater quantities of those narrow baftaes when the Portingalls trade

flourished, being by them bought. Now, if a settled residence be continued in that place and likewise monies be imprested unto those weavers in a short time it will produce double the quantity and cheaper; those being bought for 18 and 19 rupees per corge in Nasrapore which in Tuttah are sold at 20 and 23. The charges are not great in so small a distance. Tatta and places adjoining are already well known. owing to Fremlen's residence there. Commodities wants not in all the prementioned places to the producing a large trade. For transport of goods from Lahore etc., down to the river, the best time is to part thence in March, so if possible to arrive before the rains enter. when the winds being violent, a laden boat cannot without much danger continue the voyage and so it comes to a month's more expense of time in waiting opportunities of weather; but the soonest that in the best time a laden boat can pass is three months, being extraordinarily in payment of the several choukies (toll-stations, chauki) on the way. Whether it be the better transport for Agra goods, the several chaises calculated. will soon be decided. Now is the better way to it in regard Asaph Caun hath remitted near the half of these extraordinary customs in Bundar Larree. From Multan the river is navigable at all times: but from Lahore in the begining of March till the cool time enter in October. The way by Jessamoore (Jeisalmer) is much nearer, being not above 35 days or 40 at the best time and only difficult of its passing presently after the rains. Custom's there are none of any consequence but in Jessameere and there the goods are valued and pay (according as by information) 12 per cent; but this perhaps may be remitted and qualified by fore agreement with the Rajah. The portage being on camels the hire of each will be 22 rupees or thereabouts. The several commodities of each place in this passage that are to be bought is summarily declared. For the vend of ought that comes from any foreign climate, as the country wants little, so gives no price for them in any quantity, un-

less in the King's lascar, that part of this country's commerce continually attending him.

- 192 In a Consultation held at Surat by President Fremlen and other factors on 11th November 1639, it was resolved to borrow upto twenty thousand pounds sterling, and to notify the company. With the Funds thus obtained they proposed to buy, among other goods, 20,000 pieces of "Nursurpore joories", estimated to cost 25,000 Rupees in all.
- 197-198 President Fremlen writes to the company on 9th December 1639 about trade with Sind: Tatta cloth sent in the ship Discovery. Some of the narrow baftas that were tainted owing to leakiness of the vessel Michael we dyed and so converted them into mavess or watchets and canrikeens. while the broader ones were made into "belw byrams" for the southwards. The rest of the Sind cloth now sent was received by the ship Diamond and is very satisfactory. He adds, how desirous we are to enlarge your trade in that country and fully discover the several conveniences depending thereon, will best appear in our directing Mr. Bornford in March last, with another his assistant in Agra, to travel thither by land the nearest way of Jesurmeare. the sooner to be at his business, and in his passage to treat with that Rajah about reduction of customs: who takes there on silk (the chief commodity transported that way from Agra to Tuttha) and thereupon pretends the like right on any clothing wherein silk is interwoven, 10 or 12 per cent; but on indigo, cotton clothing, on other coinnodities...per cent. Being come to Tuttha we willed him (whilst Phillip Wilde, with the broker's assistance, followed the cloth investment) to travel up that river as high as Seiwan and seriously inquire into the conveniences and probabilities of trade that should there present themselves. But he, contrary to our direction (yet to purpose good enough) went from Agra by the way of Lahore to Tuttha down the river, and so made an exact discovery of that passage, wherein the several

observations he took will present themselves unto you in a paper apart accompanying these, which we dare assure you speaks less than your Worships will really find and which we hope next year to make apparent; for God willing both at Nusserpore and Sehwān we intend a residence and to provide there both cloth and indigo. Of the latter some of us, from the knowledge wee have of that commodity dare assure you that wee have seene as good indico of those partes as ever Byana produced. Such only, how little so ever it proves and no other wee intend unto you, and doubt not by our resolved practice to buy none but the best, to cause the makers thereof to compose no other and to desert their accustomary adulterating. that purer substance. For transportation of your Agra goods that way, wee find by Mr. Bornford's relation no great encouragement. especially for rich indigo because of the customs of Multan, and the cartage of it, so farr first by land, which costs well-neigh as much as from Agra hither.

In the same letter, he admits that your caution touching the Dutches interposition in Sind also is very apt: which we cannot hinder if Asaph Khan please to admit them. Their enmity with the Portugalls chiefly excludes them; otherwise they had, ere this, there as in all other places, followed your steps.

We come to the year 1640, when it is reported that Surgeon Joseph Martin was sent to cure the Governor of Tatta of a malady, but the surgeon himself died a few days after his arrival.

210 Surat Council to the Company, dated 9th December 1639:-  
The Diamond sailed for Persia on 29th January, carried passengers and freight goods producing 6466 mahmudis, a sum nearly equal to what she cost the company. From Gombroon she went to Scinda with 700 Tumans 'in specie of Abasees' but arrived so late that she was forced to winter there, 'wheare that malvolent aire swept away the greater part of 20 Englishmen which went hence on her to Persia'. On hearing of this from Bornford 20 of

the London's crew were sent thither in the Kit; and both vessels returned to Swally on November 3, with sugar, sugarcandy and calicoes, besides a bale of Persian felts and two horses, all amounting to 80635 Mahmudis.

- 232 Surat Council to the Company dated 28th January 1640:- Philip Wylde on his way from Agra to Scinda bought at Lahore 52 bales of sugarcandy. 'Its long continuance in that low moist place. Bunder Laree, hath altered colour from white to yellowe and in all probability will induce its disesteeme which we cannot remedy'. This and 42 bales of Nusserpore cloth are all the goods contributed by 'Scinda' towards the lading of the London. Intend to despatch Paunceforte in the Diamond to take charge of that factory and 'provide a seasonable and plentifull crop of goods for the ensuing year. Propose to send some Scinda piece goods to Basra.
- 233 A bale of calcoes forwarded which belonged to Joseph Martin, Surgeon. He was sent to cure the Governor of Tatta of a Malady but died himself after a few days of his arrival.
- 237 The Rajapore broker reports to Surat Factor on 5th Feb. 1640:- They (the Courteens Associations Factors) say by this ship intended to England they will write for 5 or 7 ships yearly to be sent them, which they will employ to Gombroone. Scinda Mocha Masliputam and all other ports of Commerce and doubt not but that their king will comply with their desires.
- 241 President Fremen reports to the Company on 26-2-1640 that on the 17th February the vessel Diamond was dispeeeded to Scinda where she is to land Samuel Pauncefote, William Johnson and Nicholas Scrivener with goods and money to the amount of 38511 mahmudis. (A rupee equals  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  mahmudis). Further sums will be remitted to them by exchange.
- 248-249 Factors at Basra to the Company, dated 22nd June 1640:- Report that prices of goods will fall to a far lower rate with the arrival of Portugal Junks from Scinda and Combya.

## 2 Basra Factors to the Company - dated 28th August 1640:-

Besides the 20th of the past mounth arived heere the Portugalls Muscat Fleet which brought great store of Combaya and Scinda goods, as cloath, Indico, Conserves, etc., with store of pepper, cardamom, ginger, Cinamon and some Dican cloath.

## 3 Surat Council to the Company - dated 29th December 1640:-

A part of the large quantity of peppers brought by the Thomas from Bantam in October has been despatched to Scinda.

4 In his letter dated 29th December 1640, President Fremlen reports to the Company that the Scinda indigo sent in the ship Swan was judged to be better than that of Surkhej, though not so good as the Biana variety. (Surkhej, written Cherques by old writers, is five miles from Ahmedabad. The Dutch established a factory there on account of the good quality of indigo grown there. Many of the Sultans of Gujrat were buried at Sirkej). By a commission dated 15th February, they instructed Mr. Pauncefote to procure a quantity of that indigo, but the excessive rains spoiled the crop and only small parcels are obtainable at 70 rupees per double maund of Surat (equal to  $73\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.). Trust next year to procure the quantity desired by the Company. He proceeds to describe how they have endeavoured to comply with "your reiterated order to continuuate that Scinda residence and to stock the same amply for provision of indigo and calicoes theare."

5-277 In the vessel Diamond which sailed on February 15, (1640) they sent thither goods to the amount of 38,511 mahmudis; and have since remitted by exchange 16,400 Rupees. Samuel Pauncefote and William Janson and Nicholas Scrivener were sent in the Diamond and after a most tedious and dangerous voyage of 66 days continuance arrived yet atlast in safety; where they found Phillip Wylde and Robert Cranmer left there by Mr. Bornford at his coming thence; where Mr. Pauncefote and William Janson within a few days after their arrival died. After whose death Phillip Wylde succeeded and continued the

Company's investments untill Mr. Spiller who with Daniel Elder and Rivet Wallwin were, the 13th June dispeeded overland thither to supply Samuel Pauncefote's etc., failings, but they were so hindered in their travels by continued rains that it became the 7th of September ere they attained Nusserpore and eight days after before they arrived to Tuttah. Particulars of the Nusserpore cloth bought there and now sent home in the vessel Crispiana. The vessel Supply was dispatched to Scinda on November 7, and with goods and money to the amount of 78,967 mahmudis. The pepper and lead are likely to sell to great profit, either at Tatta or at Sehwan or Multan. Phillip Wylde and Robert Cranmer have been directed to proceed up the river for the purpose and to make a further report upon the possibility of bringing the Agra goods down by that route. Fremlen adds in his letter we had well hoped to have discovered a yet cheaper way from Agra by Jeisurmeare to Tutta; and to that purpose directed Mr. Pauncefote to send from Tuttha some trusty Banyan to treat with the Raja of that place; which was accordingly performed and the Raja inclined to remit half the customs he takes from others. Yet when we came to view what the moety amounted to, we found it to exceed by much what is usually expended in the transport of your goods from Agra to Suratt by the known best cheapest way of Ahmedabad. We, therefore, thanked by our letters the Jeisurmeare Raja for his courtesy, but withal told him that it was too costly for us to accept of. Of late this King through Fidai Khan's insinuation (formerly called Mier Zeriff when the vessel Michael he took his passage to Judda (Jedah) as embassador to the Grand Sihnior hath taken the government of Bunder Laree from Asaph Khan who had many years enjoyed it and farmed it to him; who in all haste posted thither to settle the people there and give directions for the managing of those affairs; whence he wrote unto the President a letter full of many kind expressions of his obligations to the English for the courtesies we

did him in his passage to Gidda (Jedah) which now, since the King had bestowed the port of Sinda on him, he had ample means to retribute; but it seems intended nothing less for from the passengers bound on the Dyamond to Persia but inforced to winter with their goods, which were not landed, in Bunder Laree, he inforced customs and caused their goods to be brought on shore against their wills; which Asaph Khan had formerly remitted at our entreaties, which nevertheless could not prevail with him who promised mountains yet think the best of his performances will not raise themselves to a molehill altitude. He also invited the President to come to Laree Bandar to confer with him on a subject which would be advantageous to us. His object is that we carry and recarry goods to Persia and Basora without touching at Muscat, in order to defraud the Portuguese of their custom dues. This we shall not do. The President continues that the miscalculation in the weight of indigo was probably due to the fact that the Tatta maund is double that of Surat. Spiller has been directed to continue the investment in Nusserpore cloth and to provide Sehwan indigo and calicoes suitable for Persia and Basra. Surat Council to the company dated 29th December 1640 (above continued).

92-293 The supply was sent to Sinda. She sailed on November 7th, and arrived ten days later descriyng in her passage near unto Jughut one ship and pynnace, who gave six houres chase to her, but she, being nimbler of saile, played her coorse and left them, whom we call Frenchmen, the same that your Discovery met neare Mocha, commanded by Regamont sent you on the Discovery. These vessels in all probability bine before Scinda River, neare unto which they continued 5 to 6 daies in expectation of Portugall vessels returning from Bussora, where if they had stayed but one day longer they had undoubtedly surprised two galliots which the day after theire departure arrived to Scinda and landed there upwards of 300000 rupees. (The Pirates who

attacked one of Cutch Rana's vessel told them they were English to bring a bad name to the E.I. Co., and thus get them ousted out from India.)

The Company in London writes to the President and Council at Surat on the 29th November 1641, giving them instructions as to purchase and packing of goods: The Company complains that the Sind Calicoes were also disappointing in quality and orders that the factors there should be charged to look carefully into the matter and not to trust to their brokers. The washers also should be warned not to tatter the cloth or put so much starch into it. Of Sewan Joories. 2000 pieces may be forwarded every year; while those from Nasarpur will also sell to advantage.

#### **1642 - 1645**

**INTRODUCTION** The period synchronizes roughly with the first phase of III & IV the Civil War in England from the raising of the royal standard at Nottingham in August 1642 to the battle of Naseby in June 1645, and the consequent difficulty with which the East India Company's operations were carried on at home of course affected to some extent the proceedings of their servants in the East.... Yet on the whole the embarrassment caused to the latter was smaller than might have been expected. Each year ships arrived from England, though with reduced cargoes, and each year one or more went back; and the most startling effect of the war on the Company's trade was the loss of the vessel JOHN which in 1644 was betrayed to the royalists by her commander. In India itself the factors though much hampered by debt and the lack of sufficient supplies from home; managed to keep going the trade with Mokha, Basra, Gombroon, Achin, and other places.

V During 1642-45 from every Factory came complaints of financial embarrassments. Both in the sale of their wares and in the purchase of Eastern products they (The English Merchants) had to face a formidable competition on the part of the Dutch who were far better equipped both in goods and funds.

The recent extension of the company's sphere of action to Bengal, Sind and Basra had not produced results answering to the sanguine anticipations of the promoters 'Sind it is true, seems to have yielded a faire return both in Indigo and Calico, but Basra had proved disappointing; while Bengal had swallowed up large sums and returned little or nothing'. Every letter to England implored a supply of money, but money the company was finding it increasingly difficult to procure. The threatening aspect of public affairs had much to do with this; so had the competition of the group of interlopers known as Courteens Association. An attempt to raise a Fourth Joint Stock in the Spring of 1640 had failed miserably and it was only with difficulty that in the autumn of the following year a sum of about £ 105000/- was got together for the purpose of a 'General Voyage'—a venture for one year only.

I-XII Spiller the head of the Tatta factory spent the whole of the rainy season of 1644 in the upper districts of Sind. investigating the conditions of the production and seeking for suitable places as centres for the purchase of indigo, and calico. He reported that the latter was rapidly deteriorating in quality, owing to the great demand that had arisen for it in late years. As regards the former he found that "the people are so exceedingly opprest and kept so miserable poor that notwithstanding the soil is fertile and proper and would produce large quantities of indicoes, they have neither will nor means to manure and sow the ground"; and the competition of the local dyers for the small quantity produced made it unprofitable for the English to buy there during that season, though it was determined to make a renewed attempt the following year.

President Fremen in his letter dated 27th January 1642 gives details of the goods sent to London to the E.I. Company; among other things he has sent cloth from Sind, and adds:- Regret the defects in the 'joories' from Sind. Now send 89 bales of calicoes from these parts, 75 being from Nusserpore, and the rest from

Durd (probably Dadu in the Larkana District), a town situated higher up that great river on Indus. Both are somewhat dearer than usual, but the general dearth of cotton wool last year throughout India has increased the price of yarn and consequently of calico in all places. Have ordered 20,000 pieces of Sind calico for next season and hope to provide them at cheaper rates. Some broad "Sinda joories" are now forwarded; also 59 bales from thence. (In the same letter mention is made of Tapseeles brought from Sind being sent to England per the same ship.) On the same letter, it is reported that "Tutta cloth is well painted but generally upon narrow guzzees; nor do these weavers make broader, unless they are purposely bespoke; and they are such as the broad baftaes are, which have been so much disliked by you. Guzzees, guzzy, is a very poor kind of cotton cloth.

58-59 The factors at Basra report on 26th September 1642 political news; we have lately received news by the Portugal caphila that come from Syndah of the distracted estate of the Mogol, as having at present three powerful enemies against him, viz., the Persian in endeavouring the recovery of Kandahar, his strong rebellious Rajas about Agra, and his undoutiful son (Sultan Suja) in Bengala; so that whilst he goes to repulse the Persian he is afraid his son will seize on Agra, the chief place of his unspeakable treasure, or else that the Rajaes will do as much for him before he returns; therefore he is forced to keep his lascar about Agra.

85 President Freinlen reports to the E.I. Co., on 17th January 1643 about the trade with Sind. The vessel supply was despatched to Scinda on October 29 with lead and other goods, but as yet nothing has been heard of her arrival; still they hoped soon to see her back from thence with calico. Have also remitted thither from Ahmedabad a good sum of rupees to commence an investment and have ordered the provision of 20,000 pieces of Nusser-pore joories and 4000 of Sehwan joories. Will do their best

to remedy the defects of which complaint has been made.

- 123 The Co. to the President and Council at Surat dated 27th November 1643:-

"Cannot commend the 'Nursepole Joories' from Sind, they are thin cloths onlie made fayie to the eye by overmuch starching, slicking and beating..... They are neither good cloth or full size'. Much prefer the 'Dorbella' sort, which comes also from Sind; of these 4 or 5000 pieces would sell. 'So would some of them also made in Sevensteere (Sehwan) and the indico of that place also would find vent here, if well bought and carefuly chosen".

- 132 The following three persons were employed as merchants in Sind in 1644—1. John Spiller (£ 133/6/-), 2. Daniel Elder (£ 70/-) and 3. Revett Walwyn (£ 18/-).

- 137 Surat Council to the Company dated 27th January 1644.—The only way of making the Persian Trade more profitable is to augment the stock of money in India where with to purchase goods in Agra, Ahmedabad, Sind, Masliputan etc. These with a little English Merchandize would be likely to produce some good advance and consequently procure you silk at or under 40 Tomands (Tomans) per load.

Have given instructions to buy also 200 bales of Sehwan Indigo, though they feare it may not be procurable. This commodity has these latter yeares bin much unrequested in the neighbouring countries of Persia, Mocho, Bussora alsoe and that hath admirably declined its vallue where it is made that the planters are almost beggered there by, and therefore doe annually more or lesse reduce the wouled quaintities made by them. However it little troubles us, whilst the occession of soe much advance thereby to our trade affordes us greater cause of rejoicing.

The complaints regarding calicoes from Sinda have been forwarded to Spiller and other Factors resident there. It is hoped that the bales now sent will be better liked. Have bespoken from

- thence 10,000 pieces of ordinary sorts for the next returning ships, besides, 1,000 pieces of better quality, also a quantity of saltpetre, Indigo, Pintandoes and tumerie for England; 'Cussumba' (Saffron, Red Dye) for Achin, and some other drugs for Surat.
- 144 Thomas Whatmore, sometime Master of Diamond reports that John Durham died in 'the river of Scinda anno 1639, when the vessel there wintered.'
- 160 President Breton at Swally (Surat) Marine described to the company on 7th February 1644 the different presents given to the influencial persons whose favours were necessary; to the King presents costing about Rs. 5,555. To Prince Darasacore, the eldest son of Shah Jan; he the Viceroy of Sind, one Arab Horse, Broadcloths, satins, a cabinet and looking glass, a case of barber's instruments and an embroidered sweet bag, a cost of Rs. 2,334. And the Prince Morad Bux (4th son of the Ruler) presents valued at Rs. 1,100.
- 163 The President and Council at Surat in their letter to the Company of 26th March, 1644 write the Prince Darashacore to whom Tuttah belongs hath also multiplied promises of favours towards your servants and affairs in that place. So that we are in good hopes to reap the fruits of those large sums in presents (we hope reasonably) disbursed.
- 215 The President at Surat further reports to the company in his letter of 28th November 1644 that Darasacore (Dara Shikoh) hath also expressed how acceptably he esteemed what given him in writing a courteous letter to your President and retributing a jewel of diamonds and rubies, valued at Rupees One Thousand. He has also been pleased to grant us several neshans (orders) or letters in your favour for Tuttah that custom house and country belonging unto him.
- 163 The President and Council at Surat to the Company dated the 26th March 1644.  
At Fatta piece goods have lately risen in price, owing to large

investments for Basra, but they are expected to be cheap again shortly, and it is not likely that there will be any difficulty in procuring the quantities wanted for England. 'Scandra'—Kandara—and 'Derbella' recently furnished a supply of 'narrow joories' extraordinary in goodness and reasonably bought, but become dear by an excessive custom exacted at Multan, which we nothing doubt but the Prince will remit unto us Indico of these partes continueth scarce and deare, not any having bind sold—though mixt indico---under 55 rupees per maund of that place, which farr exceeds in price the round sort made in Ahmedabad, although it does not at all excell it in goodness'. Have therefore reduced their demand for Sind Indigo to a few bales unless Spiller who is going in May to 'Sevestan' finds better encouragement there.

- 203 President Breton at Surat wrote to the Company on November 28th, 1644, explaining about the purchases of cloth etc., made in Sind. Regarding the complaints made of the Scinda and Nusserpore joories, they explain that the make of all sorts of cloth in that place doth much degenerate from former times and yearly decline by the ready vend it finds at Bussora, which occasions many buyers in so much that narrow baftaes all sorts are lately risen 5 and 6 rupees per corge (corge, coorge, a mercantile term for a score; in Madras one gorge is 22 pieces;) white callicoe from 20 to 40 Royals the corge (a corge being 20 pieces), and yet made worse than ever, the Derbella and Ckandara cloth being now no better than the Nusserpore; whereof Mr. Spiller hath had this year some experience, he having by our order passed rains, from May to September, in those upper countries of Sehwan or Seustan and the adjacent places; Spiller describes the poverty and the oppression on the people as described above, and hence the poor and small quantity of indigo. Spiller bought, therefore, but a trifling quantity; yet he is of opinion that the next year if a man continue there, to encourage the people by impresting 800 or 1000 rupees in small sums that upwards of

100 fardles may be procured at reasonable prices; which we intend, God willing, to experiment; and the rather because Derballa and Ckandara are not far distant from thence, where we intend a residence; and if they can procure the cloth to be well made we have directions for buying 10,000 pieces against the next year. Spiller also went to Sehwan, gave the weavers instructions as to the dimensions of the cloth and left a broker with 1000 rupees to follow the investment. Intend an addition to buy there a quantity of goods for Persia and Basra. The goods procured in Sind last season, viz., about 7,000 pieces of narrow joories, with a little saltpetre and indigo will be embarked upon the vessel Crispiana.

- 205 Same letter continued—Will buy no more of saltpetre—until that expected from Tatta has been received and examined.
- 211 Same letter continued—The Crispiana sailed on October 23rd for Scinda, carrying some of the pepper taken out of the Hopewell, part of this is the sold there.
- 216 Same letter continued—A quantity of tobacoe sent to Scinda in a Frigate belonging to ‘Derge Saw’ has been lost, owing to the vessel being cast away ‘near unto Jagatt’. However we having ensured them you wil be no great losers there by, yet shall we not hereafter expose your goods to the like hazard.
- 231 Surat Council to the Company dated January 3, 1645—Of the Factors that came in the Crispiana, Fenn and Harrison proceeded by the vessel to Synda to assist Spiller there.
- 227 Same letter as above—Supply from Tatta of Cotton goods and Indigo; but the 6 bales received of the latter commodity and now sent home are much poorer in quality than previous consignments.
- 274 The factors at Basra wrote to the Company on July 31st, 1645 as follows:—  
“Their other merchants supply of Scinda commodities will this monzoone be wanting unto them for by advice from Muskatt

to these merchants five vessels which were laden and ready to set sail out of that river over that barr, met with such extraordinary great seas that they were forced to return to Bunder Laree where they must winter till the fine (end of) September."

This wee thought would have been some advancement to your business in the sale of your worships commodities, especially in blewe cloathing, but since to our greate sorrow, the 19th present arrived two Dutch ships laden with severall sorts of merchandize; whose very name has so much dulled the marketts that since their arrivall the sortments of goods with us have seldom been enquired for.

#### 1646 - 1650

The E. I. Company in England were complaining about the quality of the money sent out 1643, the factors of Surat wrote to England on 3rd January 1646 that they will content themselves in future with advising the amount realised by the sale of the coins. If the ten rials taken home by Fremlen as specimens tested, it has been found that the complaints were well founded; for here in India four mints (Surat, Ahmedabad, Tatta and Agra) agree touching their value.

3 In the same letter, the factors of Swally (Surat) write about indigo. We have this passed year made a full and fruitless experiment of what indico may be procured in the upper countries of Sevestan, above Tatta, wherein Mr. Spiller, Nicholas Scrivener, and a broker were near upon four months employed and have made discovery sufficient to frustrate our expectations of any great quantities, the country and people being very beggerly, as appears by their investment of six fardles only. The cloth of this part affordeth much better encouragement especially that of Kandara, which we are confident will be approved by you for excellent good cloth and very cheap. Of this sort (if a man be purposely employed in the place (they say four or five hundred corge (corge is a mercantile term for a score; in Madras one corge is 22 pieces)

may be acquired yearly, whereof we shall be very careful. The Boobuck (9 miles west of Sehwan) cloth is not so good, yet far exceeds that of Nusserpore, which indeed is narrow, coarse, slight, and ill conditioned. So that if those upper countries can furnish your occasions with any indifferent quantities, we intend no more of the latter unto you.

- 14 Factors who knew the language of the country were in great demand for in the same letter Daniel Elder is recommended for reemployment, who had been for some years second at Tatta, being reasonably well versed in this country language.
- 28-30 John Spiller, Henry Garry and Gilbert Harrison at Tatta, to the President and Council at Surat 21st February 1646.—Note the criticisms passed at Surat on the recent purchase. As regards the Khandearah (Kandiaro) cloth they took pains to secure that it was of proper dimensions "for its breadth was much declined. This year they cannot accept more than 300 corge for the place is very small; and so to make good the deficiency they have instructed Nicholas Scrivener to purchase a quantity of Nasarpur cloth. It is most certain that so long as the dyers of this place go unto Sevestaun (the district round Sehwan) to buy indico, giving so much therefore and refusing none that comes to their hands, we shall not do much good out; but this year we hope we shall not be troubled with many of them, as their indico lies on their hands; and then there is no fear of such and so good indico as formerly went home. For notwithstanding its hard stony substance (which was always sp) it is now sold (the best) within ten rupees the maund of Byana, and prefered by these dyers before Amadaved, which they say looks well to the eye but in dyeing is not to be compared to the best here; for not long since they had experience of a great parcel that came from Am-davad, when in this place it was not to be got, for by reason of bad governors the indico towns about Sevestaun were almost quite ruined; which of late by our means are somewhat recovered

again, and will be more. Amongst the indigo now sent was two bales of a sort newly made in Behrallah (a small town hard by Derbela) for a muster (sample). This the dyers say proves as good, if not better (the much harder) than Boobuck indigo, and here at present sells well; as doth that likewise made in Sunne before any. Request instructions whether they shall be bought. The goods they provided for Persia, especially the "Meanaes" and "Adputtaes" cannot be bought in any quantities owing to the dearness and scarcity of silk; trust therefore, that they have found a ready sale. Will make in due season the investments ordered for Persia and Basra; and for the reason already given, very few "Meanaes" or "Luckees" are being made. As regards cotton goods there will be no difficulty. It will probably prove cheaper to buy here than to go up country for the purpose in regard of the great changes. As regards the Persia investment cannot be put in hand yet awhile they intend to go all together up into the country and investigate matters. At Nasarpur they will await instructions before making any purchases. That place lies very convenient for us to supply it upon all occasions; whereas unto Khandierah we must carry as much as we intend to invest with us, the ways being so obnoxious to danger; and that to be in new rupees which many times are not here to be got; which, although, so when come there will not pass untill translated into pice. which last year much hindered us. Wrote on the 13th instant (February 1646) to Scrivener at Nasarpur, directing him to proceed as quickly as possible to Khandierah, but no reply has yet been received.

This instant has arrived a letter from Scrivener, with patterns of cloth which, though somewhat dear and so well made as is desirable are still much better than last year's; and there is no doubt but very suddenly both the aforesaid defects will be mended in regard the weavers are willing to work; which is because there are no buyers or very few; which if it so continue we are like to do

a great deal of good out this year in that place.

Note—Kandiaro, or Khandearah is a village on the middle route from Roree to Hyderabad, and 42 miles south of Hyderabad.

**30-34** The President at Swally (Surat) writes to the Company on March 30th 1646, "the indigo procured from Sind has not answered expectations, either in goodness or in price; and it is moreover scarce. Still, Spiller and his colleagues hold up hopes of an improvement this year".

**34** Sent by the Eagle some 'Chandraha narrow Baftaes' which are likely to give you best content both in price and goodness'. Have ordered Spiller to buy as much as possible and hope 'hereafter, by keeping a constant residency there to enlarge that investment'.

**44-45** The factors at Basra report to the Company on 3rd August 1646 of the slackness of trade on account of fight between the Bashaw of Bagdatt and those of Basra; so that trade in this place is at stand, but hope ere long these Bashawas people will be reconciled and merchants freely pass as formerly. By our last advice we gave you notice of the greate quantities of Scinda goods was then arrived hither. Yet the caphila from Muscatt not arrived, wherein by report are 8 Scinda and other junckes, which are dayly expected.

They add that the Tatta merchants' agents have under sold their goods to such an extent that to our knowledge counting the charge of Muscatt etc., they losse atleast 25 to 30 per cent or more on blue baftas and joories; while the poorer among them having borrowed at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 per cent (per month) endeavour to clear themselves at those under-rates. The result is that there is no demand of your blue clothing which all remains on hand.

**50-61** John Spiller, Henry Garry and Gilbert Harrison on board the Hart in 'Sindy' Road to the President and Council at Surat December 8, 1646:-

Their 'Seventaune' goods (the only ones outstanding reached Tatta on November 10, and were at once packed and sent down

hither in boats, 'though not without much trouble, for that wee in manie places were forced, where was not a foote water, to drawe the boates by meere strength uppon poles into deeper water, one after another, untill wee came into the tides way, which now runnes soe high as halfe way to Tatah and more, beeing salt water a greite parte of the way'. Reached 'Bunder' (Lari Bunder) on November 24 and 6 days later the Hart's boat brought news of her arrival. Now reply to the letter received by her. Expect to sell her tobacco at 10 or 11 rupees (or possibly more) per maund, and believe fifty more bales would vend readily. The Shah Bunder promises payment of the bills of exchange. Sends as many 'Browne Bazar Baftaes' as they could procure in the time. Rejoiced to hear of the arrival of the Dlophin. Explain the difficulty of getting 'Khanderah' cloth of the length desired by the company. This being 'the first time that our goods was soe entered and dispatched in costome Howse, the Shahbunder tocke some time to informe himselfe. Soe it was the second present before our goods were out of the Custom Howse, which the next day was dispeeded to the Fisher Towne, wher for want of boates they lay two daies before wee could gett a boate to take anie part therof. The Shah Bunder did not open their packages, but took their words for the contents; 'never before had any merchant his goods soe cleared, beeing a lybertie that a Tahtah merchant must not expect to enjoy'. At present the prices of cloth are very reasonable and they hope to procure a good quantity this year. 'Now the Bussora Vessells are come in, now rupees will bee procurable; soe wee intend to change all the old rupees, wee have, and send them upp to Khanderiah'. The invoice will show what goods have been put abroad this vessel. Note that the company's letter says that 'those makeings of Baftaes which Sindy affordes were in better esteeme than anie other sorte', including apparently Nasarpur. Await instructions as to the purchase of the latter.

- 61 John Spiller, Henry Garry and Gilbert Harrison, at Bunder Lahree (Laribandar) write on 13th December 1646 to the President and Council at Surat that they are still in 'Bunder' waiting to get their goods cleared, but hope to leave in about eight days. They add that in consequence of a dispute in the custome house, which occurred shortly before the vessel Hart sailed, the Portuguese factor and padre went abroad their frigates of war; and when the Shahbandar sent two of his servants to entreat them to return ashore, the Portuguese killed one and carried the other abroad, after beating him, this has created a great disturbance and the Shahbandar is much incensed. He has applied to the writers to take freight to Gombroon, as formerly promised, offering to allow us half of the Muskatt customs which his merchants pay here to these. We said little, but referred them to you. The Ahmedabad Factors have desired them to obtain the money they required at Tatta by bills drawn at Ahmedabad; they wrote that they will endeavour to comply.
- 72-74 The above mentioned three persons and Nicholas Scrivener who were at Tatta write to the President at Surat on 21st January 1647, resale of tobacco and broad cloth. Trade has been very dead; though now that a ship has arrived richly laden, some of the merchants have commenced, to invest. There being no demand for beftas, prices at Nasarpur are two rupees per corge lower than last year; would be glad therefore to receive instructions if any purchases be intended. They report having forwarded 500 rupees to Kandiaro at the beginning of the month, and would have sent more, had new rupees been obtainable. As fast, however, as money is coined, the merchants here pay to the king's Diwan in satisfaction of advances made by him. The result is such a scarcity that the merchants that trade up in the country are fain to run all over the town for a 100 rupees, and then perchance not get them neither, as we had experience, of, though we paid one percent for exchange for new. Probably

before long the rate will be higher, besides the loss of time in getting the rupees; and all this will be a hindrance to the investment. They state that they cannot get any money by exchange; so we have written to Ahmedabad for a remittance. As soon as they can collect six or seven thousand rupees, Spiller and other factors will proceed to Kandiaro. They describe how the letter under reference is carried; they state that the bearer carries with him their accounts, made up in Mumjamah (Hin. mamjama, wax-cloth) and sealed; they trust he will arrive in safety, from Ahmedabad, are grown somewhat dangerous between Cutch and that place. They request early instructions as to the investment and speedly provision of the necessary means.

P.S. (22nd.) Have just received letters from Ahmedabad, enclosing one from Surat, to which they answer as follows: Note the arrival of the vessel Hart, also the scarcity of tobacco at Surat. Have sold all that they have received, and could have disposed of a great deal more. Daud Khan duly acquainted the Shahbandar "how much you had assisted him towards the finishing and bringing hither that vessel of the Princes", but official was not well pleased with the task of finding cargo for her, for the ship is so big that she is likely to go to Mokha little more than half full; it being so hard a time with the merchants that many of them have little heart to trade. Particulars of the piece goods sent in the vessel Crispiana; they give prospects of next season's supplies. They add that if any indigo is likely to be wanted, early orders should be sent; they further advise that at least a little should be bought to give encouragement to the poor makers thereof. They cannot promise any coloured baftas, but if patterns be supplied they will get some dyed as an experiment.

6 In the list of Company's servants under the President and Council of Surat in January 1647, we find the names of John

Spiller, Henry Garry, Nicholas Scrivener, and Gilbert Harrison at Scinda.

101-102 These four persons who were at Tatta wrote to the President and Council at Surat on February 11, 1647—Are still detained here (Tatta) by the scarcity of new rupees. Here is but one day in the week that rupees are stampt, and most of them fall into the hands of Diwan. They tried to get a supply of last year's rupees instead, but found that these also were very scarce. However the Kandiaro investment is not being much delayed for they have managed to remit 1000 rupees by exchange to the broker there, and this will find employment untill they arrive. The Shahbandar is urging the merchants to ship their goods especially to Mokha, but hitherto with scant success, Bumbay (Bamba) the chief trader in that direction, died, about three months, ago, and his estate was thereupon seized; and most of the others are disinclined to send any goods. The Shahbandar has informed the Diwan and Bakshi "that he will not now meddle with the Bunder, unless each of them send a man to sit in the customs house with one that he shall appoint for his part. So here merchants have very ill quarter." Dealings with the Shahbandar about their broadcloth. He is about to return to Laribandar. Supply of funds to Kandiaro and Nasapur.

117-121 Letter from John Spiller and Nicholas Scrivener at Kandiaro to the President and Council at Surat, dated 17th April, 1647. Having got together some money, they left Tatta by water on February 2nd, and reached Nasapur on March 3rd. On their way they received a letter from Ahmedabad, enclosing a bill of rupees 15,000 and this money was brought to them on March 8th by Henry Garry. On viewing the cloth at Nasapur, they found it good and cheaper than last year by 8 pice per piece. However, they were not contented with it, and at once caused the weavers to alter their looms and weave cloth one-sixth part better, for before the warp was 600 threads and now have made it 700;

the breadth the same as formerly, which is a Guzzerate covet. (Note—Fryer writes that the measures of Surat are only two; the lesser and the greater covald — the former is 27 inches, the latter of 36 inches English). So questionless this cloth will give content and be better liked off than ever yet any went thence. And hope shall procure good quantities for the weavers (being no buyers but us) very willingly and readily condescend to our desire. On March 9th, the factors set out again, and on the 24th they arrived at the "Gate of Derbellah" (as the factors came by water, a ghat or landing place in probably intended. In that case Tuggheh, mentioned further on, may have been the spot), where their broker met them. He reported that cloth had been exceedingly dear for some time, owing to the purchases made by a Bukkur merchant, but prices had now fallen again. The factors continued in the town sometime, but could get but little cloth—about two corge a day, at which rate buzzare (market) continues. The Multan prince Moraad Bux (Morad Bakksh fourth son of the Emperor) being ousted of Multan, his whole government was given to Seyhed Ckawne (Said Khan) who sent three of his sons to Bukkur (a fortress on an island in the Indus, between Sukkur and Rohri) to take care and charge of that place having given it with all the depending towns, which together are divided into three parganas for their maintenance by their father; about the sharing of which there was some time spent before they could agree. But that being ended, this place (Kandiaro), Derbellah, and Gumbutt (Gambat 12 miles south of Khairpur; it was once a centre of the cotton-weaving industry) fell to the eldest son (Khanahzad Khan); the only places of cloth or that we have anything to do in. Yet that unreasonable duty of Cheheleaheeck (Mr. C. F. Tate, explains that this is Chahilyak, or one-fortieth i.e  $2\frac{1}{2}$  percent) was allotted the second son. So it is hard to judge who is governor here; for Sayed Khan being by the King, (who again is on his journey for Balkh) called unto

him, sent for his eldest son to govern Multan in his absence; who in his place hath left so many governors that hitherto we cannot learn the authority of each. These came in to receive in their rents the same day we came to Derbellah, but dared not go further than Khanderah, the Arabs and chief men being all fled, standing out as rebels and so they said they would continue, untill the governors aforesaid would condescend to their demands; which atlast with much adoe were agreed on both sides; and then the governors left this place and went for Derbellah (to our so much content as the weavers rejoicing) where the Arabs had promised to meet with them, on their departure the factors sent their servants to all the neighbouring villages to hasten in the cloth, for from these places comes in the half of what we buy. The Kotwall, discovering this, one day laid hold of some of those who had sold cloth to the English, demanding Laggath (Mr. Tate states that this word in Sindhi means a kick; the sense here is evidently a fine imposed by way of punishment; laggat also means customs duty), on the money they had received and threatening to make them pay duties on the cloth they had brought to sell, notwithstanding that such a tax had never been levied before, and that the factors had already paid two duties on the money, one in Darbelo and the other in this place at the Chowtralls. They insisted therefore that the Kotwal should release the weavers and return the money he had seized; this atlast he did, but at the same time threatened to enforce his demands in future. The factors had previously had trouble with him, and had then got him turned out of office for a time; they have now made a fresh complaint and are promised that he shall be dismissed for good. Have received a further supply of monies by bills from Ahmedabad. Note that all their letters have duly reached Surat. The Shahbandar despatched the Prince's new vessel to Mokha, but she was damaged in a storm and was forced to put back. The cloth they buy is of the ordinary bazar length. They

could probably get some of different dimensions if required as the weavers are anxious for work; but it would be dearer and no considerable quantity could be procured for the weavers will only make especial lengths so long as they are forced to do so. Garry reports from Nasarpur that the cloth investment is progressing favourably. Hope to get 100 corge a month there, as there are so few buyers. We are no sooner arrived at Sunne on our way thither but all the Arabs and indigo makers in that place came to welcome us, much desiring that we would leave a man there, for that they should have half so much again as last year, which they said we could perceive by the addition of new wheels that they had set upon the river to bring up the water to their grounds. Having noticed that this was so, they encouraged them as much as possible, desiring them to make their indigo better than this; so they hope to procure a good plentiful supply. Have not offered any advance to the saltpetre maker, he being indeed unwilling to receive any, by reason another saltpetre man informed the Governor, that he made for us, of whom he should do well to demand laggan (Fine, duty): so hereupon he was imprisoned and after paying a little money got clear. Have written to Nasarpur about indigo; but for the present the chief time for making is spent. The baftas will be dyed at Tatta; the cloth itself they intend to buy in Gambat. Will inquire as to the possibilities of obtaining freight at port; but the merchants are much discouraged. While the factors were there, the Prince's ship sank off the custom house one night when fully laden; and when she was got up, her cargo had to be cured again. Then came her recent mischance. A further subject of grievance is Bambae's brothers ill usage; for it is said that the king has fined him 10,00,00/- rupees, which is a paying in Tattah besides which the Princes and other great men's fees will carry away at least 50,000 rupees more. This all men exclaim against being the worst. They say, of all customs that ever came up yet, for

now if a merchant of fashion or any other hath but means, dies, his wealth will be all seized on though he hath children and brothers to leave it unto, and having one, the King ought not to pretend any right. Money received from Ahmedabad for this year's investment. More will be required before the end of August; but if possible they will be obtained this year by drawing bills of exchange. Could not avoid taking back the broadcloth returned by the Shahbandar, as he had done them many courtesies. Part of what he had passed on to the Governor, but it was not paid for by the latter by the time of his death, which happened about March 20. So his goods being seized and sealed by the King's officers (as the manner when any Umraw dies) our broad-cloth amongst the rest was met withal, but we having a barā't (order for payment), and the Shahbandar between, doubt not its recovery. Mahabat Khan's second son (likewise called Mahbat Khan; he was afterwards twice Governor of Kabul and enjoyed the favour of both Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb), now in Gujrat has been granted the vacant post; and the King has sent an officer to see that none of Mir Khan's effects be carried away a poor reward for his long service. The news of bad markets in Persia will still further discourage the Tatta merchants and cause them to abstain from buying goods. Their agents here have gone away, after selling their pice to the English Merchants. Notwithstanding the price of cloth is very little less than last year; but the weavers have now shown more willingness to accept advances. The ordinary bazaar cloth is, however, much cheaper, if any is wanted, word should be sent at once, but at present the price is as low in Tatta as here, or even lower. The death of the Governor has invalidated dustack (permit) he gave us for freeing us from the irksome duties rahdari (transit duty) which now at our coming forth we got renewed, being that some of the officers of the Gaat began to trouble our boatmen. See if our goods go down

before a new Governor arrives, it will receive much perturbation, besides, the extraordinary charges; for now upon every place where duties are received sat both the Dewan's servants and the deceased's aforesaid, as we were informed by the Darogah (chief customs) of Chobarrghat not long since. Were it not for this, they could sent down a boat's load of cloth, for the Governor of Sevestaune, whom they visited on their way up, has promised to respect the dastak, Spiller hopes to be back in Tatta about the middle of June.

To this letter a postscript is added in Spiller's hand that an application is enclosed from Scrivener for an increase of salary and trusts it will be granted.

Nicholas Scrivener at Kandiaro reminds the President and Council at Surat in his letter the 17th April 1647 that his covenanted period of service, viz., three years, at £ 20/- has long since expired and begs that he may be granted an increased remuneration which he will endeavour to deserve.

3-134 John Spiller at Tatta wrote to the President and Council at Surat on 21st June, 1647.

Wrote last from Darbello (the postscript above given was written at Darbelo) and in that letter narrated how badly the weavers were treated. They were however induced to set to work again, with the result that by the 20th May twenty-seven bales of cloth were ready. These were put into a boat and sent to Tugghen (possibly the present village of Tuggur, about five miles west of Darbello. It is now on the river) the place where all boats are cleared; where after waiting a good three days we got the cheheleahceek (one-fortieth, i.e.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent) officers to go to the waters side and atlast customed our cloth and freed our boat. Describes his proceedings at various places in going down the river, and steps taken at Tatta for washing the cloth. The Shahbandar has made fresh overtures regarding the transport of goods in the English ships; in reply he was told that if he and the merchants

would agree as to the freight they were willing to give, the matter would be referred to Surat. About the (...) present came hither a casid from Ahmedabad, being an express sent hither with divers letters of congee (congee Fr. Conge) to advise of the usage Allee Eckbar (the former of Surat etc customs) hath afforded under divers merchants, which should seem is such as they resolved to endure no more than necessity inforces and constrains them to. Therefore have advised that what monies etc they formerly inordered and usually sent to Surat should now be despeeeded to this port; for whose accommodation on the Shahbandar entreated that I should write unto Gombrone, that they if possible might have a vessel of ours; but in this I told him I could do nothing and expect to hear no more of it. By which perceive the merchants usage is bad in all places; for Bumbae's brothers here are still in trouble one day free and another in prison; of whom is demanded customs as such as they usually used to pay when they traded (for this year they have little) and I fear will be forced to make it good, though never so unreasonable. Money sent to Nasarpur and other out stations.

- 142 John Spiller at Tatta writes to the President at Surat in July 1647. Has little to add to his letter of 21st June. Bills of exchange received from Ahmedabad. Goods expected from Kan-diaro. The merchants here began to buy goods again, but were stopped by news that the Captain of Muskat's vessel had been forced into Chaul and had lost her voyage. The Shahbandar has been called to court; it should seem the bad success this bunder (Port) hath had this year is come to the Prince's knowledge. Encloses a cash balance to the end of last month.
- 145 John Spiller at Tatta to the President at Surat writes on the 12th August 1647.

The Shahbandar after making preparations to repair to Lahore has suddenly changed his mind and has decided to remain here, on the excuse that the monsoon is so near that he cannot be

spared.

10-154 John Spiller at Tatta to the President at Surat writes on the 8th September 1647.

On August 14, he received a letter from Ahmedabad with bills of exchange for Rs. 7,000. Part of the money was obtained before it was actually due and was sent up country by boat on the 20th. The boat expected from Kandiaro has not yet arrived. It seems that Scrivener was waiting for the return of the other one from this place, in order to clear them both together at that troublesome Ghaat; but the second boat had been sent to Nasarpur to fetch a lading and afterwards was kept here waiting the money from Ahmedabad. Hopes shortly to hear from Scrivener, for it is high time the washers had the cloth in their hands; probably it will now have to be sent by land on camels for the Suttaner River (apparently one of the long vanished branches of the Indus) is much dried away already. On August 20, 1647, a few lines from Garry announced the death of Gilbert Harrison from fever after six days illness; his loss is much regreted in regard of his good abearance and fair comportment whilst he lived amongst us. He made no will, but desired Garry verbally to see a tomb erected over him and to give his dagger and most of his Hindooostani clothes to his servant a Hindoo. The former I understand lately that Mr. Garry is about, being it should seem the chief men in Nasserpore desired that he might lie there sepulized; to which I have condiscended (seeing they afforded him so much favour and us credit as to the accompany and some of them carry him to his grave, which is in the chief burying place about Naserpore) or else would have removed him hither. Nothing will be done as to the disposal of his effects untill instructions come from Surat but it is hoped that the wishes of the deceased will be respected. On August 30, an express brought letters from Ahmedabad and Surat. Spiller notes the instructions for the purchase of indigo. The price has been

lately enhanced in Sann etc., by the going hither of the dyers of this place; but he hopes to procure some at about the same rate as last year. What the dyers will do with their indigo I know not, nor why they should be so eager for it; for now in this place is little or no cloth dyed, nor much yarn which is used in Stuffs, but it may be they have hopes that blue cloth sold well at Mocha so that at return of the Prince's vessel the merchants will make good quantities thereof; which vessel is much look for, and her now non-arrival make these poor merchants not a little to wonder; who have received news from Muscat that there are but two vessels come to that port of the three which before was no tidings of; so she that is wanting is an old frigate of the Prince's, whose safety is much doubted. In this city no saltpetre is made. What was formerly bought was made in out-towns but most in those adjacent about Naserpore, whence it was brought hither. Now that the English have a residence in that place Spiller has ordered the saltpetre to be received there; but Garry fears that he shall do but little good with the makers. He wished to send them to Tatta, but Spiller has ordered the contrary to avoid loss of time and to save the merchants from being troubled by the exactions of the local governors. The chief time for making saltpetre is now approaching. Money is needed; but he trusts that remittances will be made from Ahmedabad without the necessity of writing for them, which would mean much loss of time. Mughal Khan our new Governor is much expected here; and if he makes no more haste than hitherto he hath, I fear much of the country will go to ruin now the water is fallen, which before much hindered the hill robbers from doing mischief in the plains. Him I perceive you intend to visit; which if you do, it will questionless much facilitate and further our affairs in this place. The merchants here are beginning to buy piece-goods again, having heard that these have sold at good prices in Persia if the markets there

were answerable, and if the broker at Gombroon could be trusted. The merchants here, however, allege that he secretly disposes of the Company's goods to himself at his own price; and this explains why they do not sell as well as other merchants' though they are better in quality. Desires particulars of the prices realized by the Sind piece-goods in Persia. Has written to Tash for 5000 rupees, in case he is unable to take money here. Is sorry that the Ahmedabad factors find him so troublesome in this respect, but money he must have. Denies that he has failed to keep them informed of the payment of their bills of exchange. The prospects of the cloth investment at Kandiaro have improved, and he hopes to receive 600 corge from thence. On the other hand at Nasarpur, by reason of the sickness there (scarce a weaver well) we have lost many corge of cloth. Moreover now that the weavers are better, they find a good market for the common cloth which they prefer to make; so that but little of the better quality can be got. However, Garry who has been ill is now so well recovered that he can sit in the bazaar again, and has lately sent down a quantity of cloth; it is hoped, therefore, that he will be able to procure almost as much as is required. Particulars of the investment in Tatta itself. Has written to Kandiaro for the brown cloth desired at Surat, as most of that kind here available is already whited; however, if he cannot procure any brown he will send instead so much white cloth which will take colour better than brown, the rice stiffning being washt, out only here it will cost somewhat dearer, has acquainted Scrivener with what has written concerning him. With our Shahbandar we shall do well enough about freighting of ships, intending to serve him in his own kind, giving him a parcel of fair words and many promises, until you shall see better what may be done herein with more security; for the Portugalls will stirr in opposing it, it is most certain, for the subsistance of Muskaat depends wholly on the trade of this city, by forcing such

high customs from these merchants; for of other incomes I cannot understand that it hath much. Notes that the Synda clothing is approved at home, particularly that of full dimensions, which he imagines means those provided at Nassarpur; has therefore written to Garry to buy as many as possible. The request for indigo has been passed on to Savestaune; had it come earlier, they could have procured 50 bales both good and cheap but now they somewhat doubt, being the first crop brought up, which is always the best. Spiller has accordingly ordered some to be purchased in Kandiaro at moderate prices, in case Sevastaune fail. The sample cloths which he gave out to be dyed have been done to his satisfaction; but the dyers will not take less than eight rupees per corge, they saying that after they are dyed, it will stand them in two rupees in beating slicking etc. The latter is the way in which the cloths prepared for the Portuguese were done, but probably the Company would be satisfied if they were beaten only. A further difficulty is that while the Company wants cloths 15 yards long, Spiller has done suitable of greater length than 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and these the cussumba dyers (whose work it is) insist on cutting in half, alleging that whole pieces consume too much dye and that the colours will nor cannot be so good this way. Desires instructions on the point. The dyed baftas are made up several fashions some the common and usual was as white baftas are; others in cowless. Good stuffs are now very scarce here, their manufacture being much decayed, slight ones being here generally bought up by these merchants, most of whom now cannot buy of either for want of money, which these weavers perceiving, and also what losses they had received, left the city to try their fortunes abroad. He is confident, however, that he will succeed in getting those that are good. Has made up a few bales but cannot get them skinned, owing to the scarcity of raw buffalo hides. As soon as they are ready he will send them to the port as the river is drying up fast.

- 159 John Spiller at Tatta to the President and council at Surat, September 30, 1647.

Since writing on the 8th present, he has received by way of Ahmedabad a further letter from Surat, to which he now replies. As regards the future provision of piece-goods, it will not do to trust much to Nasarpur, for it is too near Tatta. Besides, these weavers are a company of base rogues for notwithstanding we give them money before hand .... part of the year, and that in the time of greatest want, yet if any pedling cloth merchant comes to buy, they leave us and work for him, though he gives no money beforehand; being the ordinary base make is more facil and easy to weave than ours, with which they must take some pains. It is absolutely necessary therefore to continue the investment in Kandiaro in order to keep the Nasarpur weavers up to the mark. Cannot understand the Company's complaint that the Kandiaro cloth is only 12 yards long. All that he has measured here is longer than that: so he thinks some mistake has been made.

- 171-172 John Spiller at Tatta to the President and Council at Surat dated November 1647.

Answers theirs of September 13, received on October 25. His arrival from Kandiaro was advised in his letter of September 30. Has only been able to procure 330 corge of cloth from that place. Thanks them for their encouragement to continue serving the company here. Cannot get any offers for the lead. Will do his best to obtain from the saltpetre men what they owe. These Tahtah merchants were about a month since very hot in buying cloth both in Nusserpore and Khodearah; but not as any ship arriving from Conggo, Bossorah, or any other parts hath well quelled them. But that that most affrights them is report of a great French Ship seen lying about Muscatt, which report says, took a small vessel laden with Coho (Coffee) and bound for Busora. The coho they took out of her and then

let her and her men go. This pre-mentioned ship is said to be a very great one and to have 80 guns and 3 to 400 men in her. That the vessel Seahorse is not yet arrived is much admired by all and I heartily wish her well and that she may arrive in safety; as do all these merchants for by her they expect most of their money. Here hath for these 4 or 5 days been a great noise of two ships seen before this bar, riding in 20 fathoms of water and sometimes nearer, and their guns heard to go off very often; but nobody knows what they are nor dare the pilots go abroad. I have sent a man to Bundar, if possible to learn what they are; and when I know the truth you shall be made acquainted therewith. His Nasarpur cloth has been packed and sent down to the port; and he is now doing the same with that from Kandiaro.

- 176 List of the Company's servants in the Surat Presidency (presented in Court 8th March 1648).

In Synda:- John Spiller, £ 133/6/8, Henry Garry £ 80/-, Nicholas Scrivener £ 30/- and Gilbert Harrison £ 20/-.

The President and factors at Swally write to the Company on 6th January 1648 that as for Sind Baftas (a kind of calico) the Company desire in future only 10,000 pieces and the factors have been instructed accordingly. Rather more than double that number are now sent partly of Nusserpore and partly of Ckandiera cloth. The former are of full dimensions but the latter, for reasons formerly given, are only of the usual length; however, if in future the weavers will not agree to lengthen the pieces the factors will procure Nusserpore cloth instead.

- 189 The letter further reports that fifty bales of Sind indigo are also sent.

- 192 At Nusserpore Gilbert Harrison deceased 16th August.

- 220 Richard Davidge at Biana to the President and Council at Surat dated 16th November 1648.

I am glad to understand that the Prince's Neshan for Tatta is

soe well framed that it may bee use full. Such Court writeings, although enordered amply, are by the malice of Court Ministers ussually corrupted and soe slightly written that they often become invalid.

- 255-256 President and Council at Surat to the Adventurers in the 2nd General Voyage dated 31st January 1659.

"This passed yeare wee have continued a constant residency att Ckandiera, chiefly to induce the weavers by degrees to make their cloth of full dimencions; whereof you will receive a greater quantity than formerly".

- 272 List of the Company's servants in the Surat Presidency in 1650. At Tatta—John Spiller £ 133/6/8, Nicholas Scrivener £ 30/-.

- 276-277 The President and Factors at Swally writes to the Company on 25th January 1650. The present year's crop excellent. Hope to send home by the next shipping a large consignment of some from Sind. The investment in Sind was much hindered by the obstruction of the officials at Kandiaro and Nassarpur; but a parwana has been obtained from the chief patron which it is hoped will owe those inferior ministers to the better abearance towards your servants, otherwise it will not be worth while to maintain a factory in those parts. They have communicated to the factors there the Company's suggestion that all Sind calicoes should be classified as Kandiaro or Nasarpur; but Spiller thinks this undesirable, as there are so many different kinds.

- 02 Instructions from the President and Council at Surat to Richard Davidge to Court 7th March 1650. A memorial was sent to the King with Davidge, and the following topics are suggested for inclusion in the Memorial. Among other complaints were the hindrances to

- 03 trade in Sind, especially at Kandiaro and Nasarpur where the English were forbidden to buy cloth in spite of the privileges granted by His Majesty many years since. The concessions for

which farmans should be sought—one of them is the removal of the present restrictions on free trade in Sind.

305 The President at Swally writes to the Company on 20th March 1650 that funds have been sent to the factors in Sind, in order that good supply may be procured from thence, as the company stand so well affected to the cloth of that province.

318-319 The President at Swally writes to the Company on 25th October 1650, about the request of Dara Shikoh's request (who is the eldest son of Shah Jan) that the vessel Falcon be sent to Bandar Lahree (Laribandar) to convey his junks towards Gombroon and further to carry a messenger or ambassador of his from the latter port to Basra on a mission to the Grand Signor. They fear that they will be obliged to comply with his wishes though they have urged the inconvenience of this to his servants, the Governor of Ahmedabad and Shahbandar of Laribandar. They are ready to send the Falcon to carry the ambassador to Gombroon, but they are unwilling to do more. However, from this prince we have lately received many favours especially by his readiness to grant us his nesshans on his ministers in the province of Sinda for our free and uninterrupted trade in that province, where it was much disturbed the last year, and by the countenance which he gave to Mr. Davidge at his arrival to Court (where he is at this instant) when he promised all the favour that lay in him to do for us; and therefore in common civility we cannot deny this prementioned courtesy.

321 In the same letter they add that Davidge has been instructed to obtain from the King the following grants by firmans and otherwise.....(3) one other phirmand (firman) commanding the governors in the province of Sinda, and more particularly those of Naserpore and Candera, not to interrupt the free course of our trade in that province but that we for their use there than ours. A fresh investment for Persia has been ordered in Agra, Lucknow and Sinda.

- 338 List of the Company's servants in the Surat Presidency, December 19, 1650.

At Sinda.....John Spiller, Chief; Henry Gary; Nicholas Scrivener; Hopton Martin and Edward Josselyn (intended thither as soon as he can be sent).

Preface (iii) The outstanding feature of the present instalment is the war between England and Holland in 1652-54 and its consequences in the East. (For Sind's share see pages 249-51.)

### 1651-1654

**INTRODUCTION** As Lewis, the chief in Persia, was anxious to return to IX-X England, it was decided to send John Spiller, the late chief in Sind, to replace him, and Spiller sailed accordingly for Gombroon in the ship Lanneret on January 17, 1651. The actual change of administration was not to take place until the end of the season; so in the meantime Spiller was instructed to proceed in the same vessel to Laribandar to set in order the English affairs in Sind. He reached the latter port on 10th March, and was much annoyed to find that the Dutch who had noted that their rivals were finding profit in the trade of the Indus ports, had sent a mission to Tatta to seek permission to establish a factory on the same terms. This was readily accorded and the Company's factors had now to face competition in the one district which they had hitherto had to themselves.

- 10 A point of interest at that time was the failure of an attempt made by the Prince Aurangzeb to draw the trade of the Indus from Tatta to a new port he was making. Richard Davidge at Delhi wrote to the President at Surat on the January 4, 1651 the said Aurangzeb doth endeavour to make a sea port 40 course to the north-east of Larreebandar, and to invite merchants thither has given out that he will remit all customs. Whether the said port be accessible to our shipping or whether the report be true I cannot yet be justly informed but hope to be before my departure hence.

Foot Note No. 5 on page 10.

Professor Sarkar in his History of Aurangzeb (Vol. I, Page 124) says that finding trade of Tatta affected by the silting up of the river the Prince opened a new port at the mouth of the Indus and built there a fort and dock to give it security and usefulness. But it took time for the new harbour to become known to mariners and for some months the only ship that used it was a vessel belonging to the Prince. The Emperor excused the duty on merchandise in order to attract trade to it. Prof. Sarkar informs me that his authority does not give name of the port or its exact position is not given. Spiller's letter dated 31st March 1651 (quoted below) calls it "Cuckerhallah", which suggests that it was situated in the District of Chakarhala, part of which now forms the Kakrala sub-division of the Ghorabari pragna. In any case the statement in the text that the new port was NW of Laribandar must be a mistake.

- 29 President and Council at Surat to the Company, dated 31st January 1651.

"Since last writing, they have not been able to purchase any large quantity of Sugar and Salt-petre, which the company desired to have in preference to more expensive goods, in order to keep down the value of the cargo. A supply of the former has been obtained from Agra and of the latter from Ahmedabad and Sind".

- 33 Same letter continued—Hopton Martin who is now in Sind is favourably spoken of by Spiller. Henry Garry's transfer to Sind was solely due to an inclination on the part of Spiller to go home.

Same letter continues:-

- 41 The cloth from Sind embarked on Love is rather dearer than last year; and the Factors there anticipate that it will be dearer still next time owing to the scarcity of cotton wool.

- 52 Richard Davidge at Agra writes to the President at Surat on 8th March 1651,—“before leaving Delhi, Davidge heard that the

- Prince Aurangzeb had deserted making of a seaport because he had found it inaccessible for shipping of any reasonable burthen.
- 58 President and Council at Surat to the Company dated 8th April 1651. The investments made in Sind this year are as large as or larger than those of last year.
- 106 Rememberance left by Merry (Retiring Surat President) with President Blackman dated 17th January 1652.  
Although all the events of his term of office are on record yet in pursuance of the usual practice he leaves the following Memorandum on outstanding question—The Sind Factors must be instructed as to an investment for Persia and the purchase of saltpetre and indigo.
- 118 Below is John Spiller's letter dated 31st March 1652 to the President at Surat: At the last moment when they were about to dispeed the Lanneret to Surat for want of freight, the merchants' agents and the Byah (a person who measured the grain in the bazar) who is next man unto the Shahbandar offered to give three rupees more per load for freight to Kung, and this was accepted. The goods cannot as yet be got abroad owing to bad weather. Dare not bring the vessel over the bar. for fear she would not be able to pass it again; but unless the weather improves, it will be difficult for her to embark her cargo. The Shahbandar has sent a request for more boats to Rawnah, for here the sea coast and pilots are more at his command than the Princes'; but his character is such that very little or no trust is to be imposed in him. Plenty of goods are now being offered for freight and they have accepted full lading. The Surat vessel that the Multan Prince's men laded for his new port of Cuckerhallah was forced to put in here; whereupon the Shahbander refused to allow her to leave, promising her master a cargo for Persia instead. This is not now forthcoming; so the master is sending a messenger to Surat about the matter, and this letter is entrusted to him.

118-119 Directions left by John Spiller for the factors in Sind, 9th April 1652.

The Lannaret being now laden with freight goods of Kung and Basra, Spiller has resolved to embark in her herself, according the desire expressed by the President and Council at Surat. He leaves here 65,000 abasis, on which Moghal Khan has undertaken to levy no more mintage than is paid in Surat or was required by the late Shahbandar. The money should therefore be taken up and coined. Directions for the stuffs and cloth investments. Scrivener may be sent to Kandiaro, if necessary, but he should be remembered that at their last visit the factors received none of the best usage. The Lanneret will be sent back from Basra to embark for Surat the stuffs provided for Persia. A quantity of lead has been landed, which has been brought at the desire of the Prince's Diwan, Mirza Qubad Beg; this should be sold to him or to others. Disposal of broadcloth and runas (madder). Instructions may be expected from Surat regarding the provision of baftas and saltpetre; but the latter must be well refined, for now an ample supply of this commodity is procurable in Bengal at a cheap rate. The arrival of the Dutch is likely to raise prices. Care must be taken that the quality of the cloth is not deteriorated, as in that case directions must be sought from Surat. If Scrivener does not go to Kandiaro, he should be stationed at Nasarpur with Tyrwhit, while Gray and Martin look after the stuff investment at Tatta. Cotton wool to be sold. Sundry payments to be entered in their books. Gray is left in charge.

115-116 John Spiller and Nicholas Scrivener at Laribandar to the President and Council at Surat dated 15th March 1652.

Left Gombroon March 1, and arrived at this port (Laribandar) on the 10th, but found that the Prince's servants had left a few days before, in one of his ships, being persuaded that the English would not now come. The Shahbandar, however, promises to find them other freights; and this the more likely

because the merchants have of late restrained from buying; owing to a rumour that a Portuguese fleet had gone to the Gulf. The unlading of the ship outside the bar is growing a difficult matter. Forward a letter from the Company received at Gombroon for transmission at Surat. If freight be procured it may be necessary to bring the Lanneret within the bar. Mirza Qubad Beg, the Multan Prince's (Aurangzeb) servant in Tattah, has written to his master about buying their lead; though, if the vessel goes to Surat, it will probably have to be left aboard for ballast.

Gray is still at Nasarpur. He reports that cloth is there good and cheap; so he will be furnished with means to purchase what is required. Steps will be taken to provide for Persia as soon as their money is coined. On the same day that the Lanneret came to anchor, four Dutchmen at Tatta from Surat. (Headed by Pictor de Bie. He was favourably received and obtained a promise that the Dutch should be allowed to trade upon the same terms as the English.) They were welcomed by the English who brought them to their factory; and after supper they proceeded to a house provided for them, which is not to their liking. They do not seem to be provided with any farman or any Prince's Nishan nor are they likely to have one before their great present be arrived at Court, that went away from Surat the begging December last; but they bought a present and a letter to the Governor from the Dutch Chief at Surat. In accordance with their usual practice they are endeavouring to entice away some of the brokers of the English, including the chief one, by promise of higher wages; but in this they are likely to be disappointed. They declare they have no money or bills of exchange; yet Scrivener saw some weighty parcels taken out of their coaches, which probably contained rupees. Their coming forth hither hath much dejected these poor merchants. It is fortunate that the English brought so large a sum from Bomgroon, as it will much facilitate their investments doubtless to the vexation of the Dutch. An

overture for freight has just been received from the Tatta merchants, but they only offer 15 rupees the carvar (kharvar, a load) and so a broker is about to be sent thither to induce them to give more. It will probably be better to take 18 rupees the load (as in November last) than to have to send the ship to Surat.

127-128 Spiller in his letter dated 14th June 1652 to the Council at Surat defends the quality of Sind goods; he was astonished to find that the Sind goods had been pronounced inferior in quality. Thinks that this is untrue and that Lewis has been influenced by the broker but will warn the Sind factors to be very careful in future.

129-130 John Spiller in his letter to the Company dated 17th July 1652 writes about the Sind cloth: "The company have ordered 6000 pieces of Sind Baftas, the greater quantity to be of the Nasarpur make, because that is two yards longer than the Kandiaro cloth. This used to be the case, but of the late years the cloth bought at the latter place has been fully 15 yards in length, as against 14½ at Nasarpur; so Spiller has ordered the provision of Kandiaro cloth, if possible, though last year the factors were not well treated there. The Gambat cloth is about 12½ yards long, but two or three inches wider than that of Kandiaro. A quantity was bought last year for eastern markets, though he fears that some has been sent home, of which the Company may not approve... He fully intended to return to Sind; but both Marry and Blackman pressed him to go to Persia, and he felt bound to agree. Believes that the Sind trade will continue to be prosperous and profitable inspite of the recent intrusion of the Dutch.

148-149 John Spiller and others at Surat writes to the Company on 12th January 1653 about the factors at Sind: Since writing last they have ordered the Falcon to return as soon as possible for Gombroon, the coast being clear of enemies; and by her they hope to receive a considerable sum. The Falcon is to stop on

her way out at Laribandar to land Thomas Reynardson who has been appointed chief of the Sind factories; and on her return she is to call there to bring away Henry Gray, who is to replace George Oxebden here.

- 48 The Company in their letter of 27th February 1658 sanctioned £ 120 per annum for expenses of their factory at Synda employing five factors.
- 52 In October 1658 four factors were sent to Laribunder per society to assist Scrivener in Sind. Of these three were Bell, Fox and John Widdrington appointed by the Company.
- 164 Scrivener had been paying a visit to Ahmedabad (1658) and while returning over land to his post at Tatta, had been held up by robbers and forced to ransom himself. A later letter (13 November) says that the robbery was committed by the Raja's men of Nanganoh (apparently Bhuj) and Cutch, who forced from him about 500 rupees and since this took place within the jurisdiction of Gujrat, the Ahmedabad Factors were instructed (9th November) to apply to Shaw Nawas Ckaun.
- 67 No letter from Scrivener during 1658 is extant, but copies of several sent by the Surat Council are to had. One of these of September 27, urges him to provide as much refined saltpetre as possible and inquires what quantity can be procured there yearly.
- 168 In their letter of 19th December 1658 the Surat Council wrote to Smith at Ahmedabad that a letter from Scinda to Ahmedabad had been temporarily stopped on its way by Dorashaws people. Dora at the time was in Gujrat having come by way of Indus, through Cutch to Gujrat being pursued by Aurangzeb's men.
- 187 The President and Council at Surat to Factors in Persia dated 11th June 1653.  
"Enclose a copy of their former letter of 7, of which their messenger was robbed on his way to Tatta."
- 209 Towards the end of September 1659 the Vine was laden with a quantity of wheat for Lahri Bunder, where she was to take in

goods for Persia.

- 210 In their letter sent per the Vine to Gombroon and then overland to the Company, the Surat Factors stated that "the goods to be embarked at Lahri Bunder would be fewer than usual," being the famine and plague in Scinda is so great that it hath swept away most part of the people and those that are left are few, and what they make is bought by the country merchants at any price, that causeth them not to take care it be good.
- 218 Spiller and Daniel at Isphan to the Company dated 28th November 1653.  
 "Hear from Tatta that the Dutch have made great investments there".
- 222 In the early part of 1659 (March) the President and Council (at Surat) being in urgent need of funds, decided to ship a quantity of Sind Calico to Persia, this was put abroad the junk named the 'EZIDI'.
- 231 In their letter of 30th September 1659 to the Co. the Surat Council wrote.  
 "In March was sent unto Muskatt Collonel Rainsford upon a jounk evidently the 'EZIDI' to treate with the King of that place for settlement. Upon the same jounk was laded on freight 63 bales of Scinda goods for Persia, which she carried thither and found a good speedy sale".
- 249-251 The President and Council at Surat to the Co. dated 28th March 1654.  
 Describes an engagement between the Dutch and English on the Sind Coast. "Meanwhile the Dutch Ships anchored in Gombroon Road, where presently the English arrived also. After staying two days, the latter sailed for Sind. Comeing in sight of the roade of Sinde, there was rideing the five Dutch Ships our last mentioned, who seeing them weighed and came of to them and soon engaged them". 'Never was fight worse managed on both sides. The Dutch were most of them drunke

and knew not what they did; the English I think were little better if not worse. They would never else have lost such an opportunity' (The Endeavour was sunk in the fight.) The English are now in the river and the Dutch watch for them outside.

- 252 The President and Council at Surat to the Company dated 28th March 1654.

"The goods provided last year are still lying in Sind (due to shipping difficulties and Moghul Governor's interferences)".

- 311 In accordance with the Co's. desires, orders were at once (20th April 1660) sent (by the Surat Council) to Scrivener in Sind to cease buying cotton goods and to procure a stock of saltpetre instead.

- 313 The President and Council at Surat came to be ill-treated by the Governor of the place. Such were the insults showered on them that withdrawal of factories was the only course left for them. And according the Factors at Tatta were also instructed (June 14) to prepare to withdraw at short notice unless redress could be obtained from the Court.

#### 1655-1660

- 6 At the beginning of this year 1655 the English East India Company's factories in the East were still fairly numerous.
- 7 The regular factories in the Surat Presidency were stationed in Surat itself (with its port of Swally) Ahmedabad, Agra, Tatta (Sind) in India, and Gombroon (now Bandar Abbas) and Isphan in Persia. This list however was in the process of curtailment for under pressure of difficulties at home, the company had sent out orders (received in May 1654) that the Factories in the Western Presidency were to be reduced to Surat, Agra, Isphan and Gombroon.
- 9 On 16th February 1655 the Dore reached Swally, bringing Spiller from Gombroon and 3 super-numerary Factors from Sind, where Nicholas Scrivener now remained alone to carry out the

season's investment.

- 14 In their letter of 20th October, 1655 the Surat Factors while furnishing an account of their proceedings to the Company informed them that a supply of money had been remitted to Tatta by exchange from Ahmedabad—where it had been borrowed to pay for the piece-goods collected in Sind.
- 52 The President and Council at Surat informed the company in their letter of 19th January 1656 that the stock in hand at Surat amounted to £ 10,000 and this they said would be invested chiefly by Scrivener in Sind.
- 57 President and Council at Surat to the Company, 2nd April 1656. After detailing their difficulties in procuring the usual quality of Baftaes from Nosari and Gandevi on account of the mischief speculators, the Surat Factors report:- "Scynd is the only place that wee have now to depend on (for procuring Baftaes). Therefore it shall not want supply of meanes; and if none of the open traders vakeeles (speculators' agents) doe not alsoe interrupt us, wee doe not in the leest doubt but that you will have very good cheap cloth from thence, to goe home in the next shipping.
- 58 With the letter mentioned above also went home (England) a list of the company's Factors in which only the name of Nicholas Scrivener is mentioned as the Factor resident in Sind.
- 60 If the year (1656) was one of depression for the Company's Factors in the East, it was equally so for their employers, whose efforts to obtain a fresh charter from the Protector remained unsuccessful.
- 77 At Tatta Nicholas Scrivener remained throughout the year 1656 though probably, in the absence of sufficient employment, he was working more on his own account than on the Company's. A letter from him to Surat dated 21st February, 1656, refers to the sale of wheat and lead, and the purchase of cotton goods and saltpetre. Its most interesting passage is the following:-

"The Buckshi having abused the chief man of the Curnuttas (a small Baluch tribe inhabiting the district round Sakro, south-west of Tatta) or Baluchis, he getting free hath raised what force he could make of his own men and turned rebell, and to his aid hath called another company of Baloochees from about Corah Bolka (possibly Ghorabari); so both together make a considerable army; they have not left a town between Bunder (i.e. Lari-bandar) and this place unplundered, carrying cattle, people, and all away; and yesterday they robbed a town on this side the river. And yet I see no order taken to withstand them; so that, if they do more mischief yet, it is their own fault."

7-78 Scrivener's next letter (3rd March) mentions that the Dutch merchants have finished their investments and are expecting a ship. He acknowledges the receipt of a sum of money, but considers it insufficient to provide the piece-goods desired, for the purchase of which he proposes to go to Nasarpur and Kandaro, remaining at one or other of these places until the end of September. About five weeks later (8th April) he writes again, announcing that he is about to depart for Nasarpur, and adding:-

Here is lately two Portuguese vessels arrived from Cocheene and Goa, whose people report that the Portugalls have well beaten the Dutch; but how true this news is I am not certain. This day is news come that Cosse Abraham (Kazi Ibrahim) who comes Ameine of this place for the Prince (Prince Dara probably held the Government of Sind at this time, in addition to that of Multan) is arrived at Nasapore; but as yet no news of the new Governor.

3 A further letter (24th April) to Surat shows traders were inconvenienced by the arbitrary actions of the Mogul officials:- "You may peradventure at receipt of these admire to find me still in Tuttah; but.....Jaffer Ckawne (Jafar Khan) being displaced and going to Lahore, hath seized on all the boats he could light on for his accommodation, not leaving one behind

him fit for service; so that my stay thus long hath here been much against my will. But now some of the new Governor's company are arrived, boats will be plentiful; so hope to be on my journey very suddenly. The new Governor being now arrived within few miles from this place, my stay here is only to meet him and get some writings confirmed by him for the gaahs (landing places on the river where dues were levied on merchandise etc.) as also recommendatory letters for Kanderah, which will not be amiss, the business of these officers considered. How that the Hollanders had laden their goods on these country vessels I advised in my last; which vessels being three in company, set out of this road about the fine (end) March; which having been but one night at sea, met with the Vodellers (these may have been piratical vessels belonging to Gwadar in Makran. It is often spelt Goadell or Guadel by European writers of the period) come from Cutch.... They have taken but one vessel belonging to this port and three or four Mallabar merchants men laden with rice and bound for Muscat. The vessel belonging to this port they have only pillaged of what lay above deck, but what was in hold is not meddled with, nor will any buy the goods of them, especially whilst they find a great many bales with the Dutches mark; so that these merchants have some hopes that both ships and goods will be returned them again. But had the first reports been true, most of the merchants would have shut up shop and have given over trade perforce".

- 79 On 5th June 1656, Scrivener wrote from Nasarpur, reporting the progress he had made in his investments, and intimating his speedy departure for Kandiaro.  
 "Whence that broker had advised that he is already troubled about the chellaheack (chahiiyak, a levy of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent) which is indeed the chief occasion of my journeying thither this year; for although they gave me their writing last year that I should pay none, yet it seems they now again demand it.... I shall endea-

vour what possible may be to bring them to reason; but if I cannot prevail with them, it will be to little purpose for the future to show our farman or nishan any more there, seeing none will obey them. The Tuttah new Governor was arrived before I came thence, whose great state suites not with that city's present poor condition. Besides, he hath brought such an unruly masterless company along with him that the people are already weary of them. But amongst the rest the Governor's wife bears the greatest sway and commands all, the Governor not daring to control her, although she does abundance of wrong to all tradesmen etc. in taking away their goods from them, not paying half the worth to them. So there is a mad kind of government at present in Tattah".

A further letter written from Kandiaro on 8th July shows that Scrivener was then busy buying cloth, but was hampered by want of money: "I have sent for more from Tuttah; which I, as soon as I hear upon the way, shall send with servants and peons I have to encounter it about Sume (probably the copyist's error for Sann, a town on the Indus about half way between Hyderabad and Sehwan. The Sumeages may be the Samejas, the descendants of the tribe which gave Sind the Samma dynasty) and guarded it from Sumeages, who does not fail to pillage such boats as they can master; but I shall take such care that it may come safe to my hands, for, besides my own peons, shall write to Sume and Sewanna for choukee to accompany them".

For the Company's lead it was hard to find a customer:- "Could I meet with a chapman, it should go at any reasonable price; for to keep it untill the king have occasion for it, it may chance to lie by a while longer, he being supplied with some quantity from about Bikaner".

"The prices of cotton goods had risen at Nasarpur, owing to the presence of many buyers from Tatta, who were providing quantities for export to Basra, where there was a great demand for

Sind cloth." Nor is it better here in Kanderah, the Bussirah news having spread itself all over Scind; . . . and to help the matter, here is not full 45 pice to the rupee; which makes the cloth 2½ rupees in corse draper than otherwise it would be".

According to the intelligence from Tatta—"Although the Dutch goods are fallen into the Portugalls hands yet the Vaddellers have taken just the one half of them, and have since made sale of them, and when some of the ships company had thought to have scared them with the name of the Dutch, their answer was that they should kindly remember them to the Dutch and bid them make haste and buy more goods and they would not fail to be their chapman for them; which is all the satisfaction the Hollanders can get from them as yet".

A postscript dated the next day follows:-

"Not paying any chellaheack here the last year, by which means some officers missing of such large fees as they usually take, have informed the Governor of Bucker (Bukkur) that he does not do well to let such profit go, telling him we always paid chellaheack and all other duties. So that they intend to demand all other duties of us again, and that we shall pay all charges as all other men do. But about this business I have sent a broker to Bucker with some broadcloth writings confirmed; which if can be effected will save us a great deal of trouble, besides charges..." Nothing more is then heard from Scrivener until 30th September by which time he was back to Tatta, engaged in getting ready for despatch to Surat the cotton goods he had bought, amounting to about 20,000 pieces. In the course of a long letter to Surat factors he something further to say about the proceedings of the impudent Gwadar pirates and about the mis-government of Sind by the Mogul officials.

80-81 "The Hollanders here sent a broker about their goods to the Vaddellers, who all the answer they gave him was that, if his master would have the goods, he must buy them, and he should

be favoured half a mamoodie in a corse of cloth. And with this answer their broker is returned. To write to you of the bad government at Bucker, Derballa (Darbelo) and those parts, all I can say will be too little and therefore you may imagine it as bad as can be; atleast when you come to know that a boad, whose duties to the Prince came to be but  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a rupee, should pay 6 rupees officers fees (or rather bribes); which kind of usage have caused all Multan men to leave the place, and also most of the Tahtah men. The usage I found there was that after the broker had gone two months after those officers from one to another about the chellaheark and could get nothing from but promises and delays, yet at the last the Droga (chie. Darogha) of the chellaheark for a bribe of 88 rupees to himself and companions, consented I should pay no chellaherk, or ought else besides 18 rupees more at Derbella jaggatt to those officers before I could get thence. So you may perceive by the aforementioned what especial servants the Prince have in these partes, and what pretty doings there is amongst them. As it is now little better here; for at clearing a boat at the ghatt here is no small do, besides a great deal of time spent before can clear one without paying more (fee for clearing certificate). Yet now at last they have given their writing we shall pay none; yet every officer will be known in this place.

Of the last letter received at Surat from Scrivener during this year, only a portion is extant. It is dated 10th November 1656 and contains merely commercial details, apart from a mention of a great scarcity of money at Tatta and renewed complaint of the exactions of the officials up country.

114 Economics ordered by the company in their letter of 27th March 1656 took effect.

115 According to the letter of Surat Council to the Company dated 28th February 1657 Scrivener was still in Sind, as he had

been unable to clear up matters in time to come away with the goods recently brought from thence. Therefore will continue there untill next yeare; but soe that noe expences is to bee brought to your accompt but in proportion to what goods hee shall buy for you, and the rest to bee charged to particular mens accompts that shall employ him; which wee conceive will bee noe prejudice to you, since hee could not come away, nor hope prove injurious to us, since you have given us leave to serve our friends (private English adventures) as well as yourselves our masters.

## 1657

- 124 Only one letter from Sind during 1657 is now extant. This is dated 13th October, and was written by Scrivener from Tatta. It describes the manoevres by which the officials had tried to force him to sell his lead to them at their own price; but it contains nothing that calls for quotations.

## 1658

- 141-142 Surat retained its traditional primacy among the Company's Indian settlements; and when the committee of the new Stock came to shape its administrative policy, they decided (December 1657) to group all their eastern establishments under one President and council, seated at Surat, with four branches, viz., the Coromandel coast, Bengal, Persia, and Bantam (Java) each under an agent and council ... the President at Surat was to have especial charge over the factories of Ahmedabad, Tatta and Rajpur (on the Malabar coast).

- 147 The company's next letter to Surat was dated 27th February 1658. For the outlying stations the following appointments were made: at Tatta, Nicholas Scrivener (£ 50); William Bell (£ 30); Humphery Fox (£ 20); John Man (£ 20), and John Waddington (£ 10).

1659

- 210 The vessel Vine sailed for Sind and Persia at the end of September. In a letter to the Company which she carried to Gombroon for transmission overland, it was stated that the goods to be embarked at Laribandar would be fewer than usual, "being the famine and plague in Scinda is so great that it hath swept away most part of the people and those that are left are few, and what they make is bought by the country merchants at any price that causeth them not to take care it be good".

(There are several other allusions to this scarcity. It seems to have been first mentioned in a letter from Scrivener of 6th June 1659 which is missing).

In reply the Surat Factors promised a supply of corn a promise they repeated on 6th August, suggesting that any of the corn that was not required for the factors' use should be distributed to the weavers "upon accompt (a/c) and be a means to keep them unto your devotion". In another letter of 17th September (sent overland) they announced the despatch of the corn by the Vine, adding "we hope also that the famine and pestilence being abated the weavers may increase, to return of trading again; which we would endeavour to increase by large investments every year, were we encouraged by goods that would be made well and proper for Persia and Mocho; for cloth for England as yet is required but a small quantity". A third letter, dated a month later, said; "the corn formerly sent you we would have you to distribute some to the weavers to keep them at work, and pay them in half corn, half money, maintaining them so all the year. For which purpose we shall send you a supply untill the famine ceaseth, being that we suppose it may be a means to gain the greater quantity of cloth, both for Persia and Mocha, and better made; for we would have you always be providing of these sorts, as well as baftaes for Europe".

306-307 So also in a letter from Surat Council to the Company dated 13th April, 1660:-

While advocating the authorisation to spend beyond the fixed grant due to high prices the Surat Council draw the Company's particular attention to the lot of Sind Factors. "And as we plead for ourselves so we must for our friends in Ahmedabad and especially in Scindy. In the former provisions are dearer, but in the latter never famine raged worse in any place, the living being hardly able to bury the dead".

333 A letter to Tatta of 12th November 1660 announces the arrival of the Vine from Laribandar, and mentions that the Eagle has not yet appeared. To help pay for the goods bought in Sind a quantity of gold is forwarded.

#### **1655-1660**

348 Letter dated April 1660:-

"The Vine was to be instructed to call at Gombroon and Sind on her way back from Basra, carrying freight goods to those places and bringing away from them any commodities provided by the factors there".

414-415 A firman from the Emperor Shah Jan dated 23, Shaban in the 24th year, A.H. 1060, (11th August 1650) (in which Laribander is mentioned as only "LAHRI") states "that the English having paid the usual customs at Surat, Broach, or Lahri (Bandar) are not to be troubled with any further demands".

#### **1661-1664**

In a communication dated 21st March 1661 the Committee after detailing the cargo sent out, announced some important changes: "We having received many great discouragements by loss during this stock and seriously considering with ourselves the vast charge we are at, by continuing many unnecessary factories in your parts to the enriching of our factors and other our servants

and to the impoverishing of our stock and disheartening of the adventurers (the Stock, now, after three years, being sold at 85 per cent) we have thereupon resolved, and do hereby order, that the factories of Agra, Amadavad, Mocha, and Bussora, be immediately deserted, and that our houses and all remains in each and every of those factories be sold and disposed of to the best advantage of the Company. Our Factories at Scynda and Bombroone rests yet under our consideration, having relation to that action of Persia, of which we hope to receive a good account from you, and accordingly shall then give our directions, either for deserting or continuance, as occasion shall require.

- 27 In a list giving particulars of the staffs of the factories immediately under the control of the President and Council at Surat we find the following at Scindy: in 1661 Nicholas Scrivener, William Bell, Valentine Nurse, and John Cox.
- 30 The President and Council at Surat to the Company dated 11th January 1662.  
"Wee shall endeavour to cleare the Factory of Mocha this yeare, and send noe more to Bussora. All soe Syndy, we suppose, will not be worth the charge".
- 116-117 On 16th December 1662 a consultation was held at Surat, at which William Bell was arraigned for various misdemeanours committed whilst acting as chief in Sind. He was accused of keeping in his own hands (contrary to standing orders) the management of the factory accounts and of utilizing this to pay himself wages which were not due. He had failed to pay into the Company's treasury at Surat the money he had brought with him, "and in the conclusion told us he had not wherewithall to satisfy it, and in a slight reply bid us charge it to his account". He had taken about a month to produce an invoice of the few goods he brought from Sind, and still longer to finish his account, "idleness is so habitual to him". Finally in his correspondence with President Andrews he had used

most scurrilous and saucy language. Having found him guilty of all these charges, the Council decided to send him home, "as a person most unfit to serve the Company".

On 20th March 1662 the President and Council at Surat addressed a sharp letter to Bell, who had succeeded Scrivener as the head of the Factory at Sind. He was warned that if he could not procure a steady supply of saltpetre and calicoes at reasonable prices, the factory would be withdrawn: he must get in the outstanding debts and take particular care to keep within his allowance for expenses, for any excess would be charged to his own account. A similar letter of 16th April censured his extravagance and ordered him to be ready to come away in the Vine, which would arrive in the latter part of October.

- 108 The Vine which reached Surat on 12th Nov., 1662, on her way called at Laribandar and embarked Bell, and the other Sind Factors, together with the saltpetre and calicoes they had provided. Henry Gary formerly English Factor in Sind played an important part in the occupation establishment of Bombay as a centre of Commerce by the British in 1664 particularly using his influence with the local merchants of all those places where he had been stationed as a Factor or chief of an English Factory. The following extracts show that he intended to induce the merchants of Tatta to establish branches in Bombay.

- 340 Henry Gary to a correspondent in London dated 20th December, 1664.

"We may be gone from hence (Goa) by Monday next and he possessed of the so long promised island (Bombay) by the middle of the next month, where being arrived I shall use my utmost endeavours to draw as many merchants as I possibly can from Surat, Canbay, Din, Tatta, Ahmedabad, Broach and other places thither".

**1665-1667**

Another person who also did a lot in the establishment of Bombay was Humphrey Cooke whose assistant Henry Gary was. Humphrey Cooke seemed to take all credit to himself in the occupation of Bombay and thus further his personal prospects. Henry Gary did not take things lying down. He was equally desirous of furthering his own prospects and accordingly addressed Lord Artington to take up his case. In his letter to the Noble Lord dated 16th February 1665, while detailing his services he wrote:

"My endeavours at being to draw hither as many merchants—  
Banians as well as Moors and Persians—as I possibly can from  
Surat, Canbay, Ahmedabad, Broach, Din, Tatta and others.

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